

# THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

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## Farmers protest across Midwest

BY JOHN STAGGS

KANSAS CITY, Mo. — Family farmers are taking to the streets to protest the severe economic and social crisis they are facing.

On February 27 a mass "National Crisis Action Rally" will take place in the Hilton Coliseum at 10:30 a.m. in Ames, Iowa.

The rally precedes by less than a week a March 4 national demonstration in Washington, D.C. by working farmers.

The National Crisis Rally is being called jointly by established farm organizations as well as by some of the new grass-roots coalitions. It is being built throughout the Midwest farm belt, and organizers expect the 15,000-capacity coliseum to be filled.

The official sponsoring organizations are: American Agriculture Movement, Farm Crisis Committee, Iowa Farmers Unity Coalition, National Catholic Rural Life Conference, National Farmers Organization, National Farmers Union, National Grange, National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, Prairie Fire — Rural America, and Women Involved in Farm Economics.

Another major farm rally has been called for March 2 in Jefferson City, Missouri. Called by Carlos Welty, national spokesperson for the American Agriculture Movement (AAM), the meeting will discuss ways to implement a call for a moratorium on all farm and home foreclosures. The March 2 action is part of four days of activities in Missouri to save beleaguered farmers here.

March 1 is the date for the Missouri State AAM meeting. A meeting March 3 will focus on increasing the involvement of organized labor. And on March 4 many small farmers who were not able to travel to Washington on such short notice will march on the Missouri State Capitol. The meetings and action have been endorsed by the AAM, the Missouri National Farmers Organization, and the Missouri AFL-CIO State Labor Council.

In the last week, three meetings on the farm crisis in Missouri and Kansas have

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## Racist S. African gov't jails 6 Black leaders



Anti-apartheid fighters at youth rally organized by United Democratic Front. Six UDF leaders have been arrested in mounting crackdown against protest.

The South African government has launched yet another brutal wave of repression against that country's Blacks and other opponents of apartheid rule. On February 19, South African cops arrested six leaders of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and carried out predawn raids in Johannesburg, Cape Town, and Durban. In addition to raiding UDF offices, they ransacked offices of trade unions, and church and community groups.

The UDF, formed in August 1983, is a broad coalition of labor unions, student organizations, women's groups, and others. Its combined membership totals more than

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2 million. It organized the successful boycott of last fall's undemocratic elections, which granted a token vote to some South African Blacks while excluding the vast majority.

The apartheid regime is trying to crush all opposition to its rule. For many months there have been growing anti-apartheid mobilizations within South Africa, including a massive general strike last November organized by member organizations of the UDF. The nationwide crackdown is aimed at squelching this upsurge in the Black freedom struggle.

South African cops charged the six UDF leaders with treason. They join eight other

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## UMW mobilizes to stop union-busting

BY DAVE FERGUSON

LOBATA, W. Va. — United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) Pres. Richard Trumka arrived in the heart of the southern West Virginia coalfields recently, vowing to escalate the union's efforts to stave off a serious union-busting attempt by A.T. Massey coal company.

The union has been on strike against Massey subsidiaries since Oct. 1, 1984. Most UMWA members are covered by the union's national contract with the Bituminous Coal Operators' Association (BCOA), which was signed in the fall of 1984. However, some operators, like A.T. Massey, refused to sign the contract. As a result, 2,600 union members are still on strike.

Trumka's arrival here came on the heels of an important victory against one subsidiary, Big Bear mining company. Overwhelming opposition in the local community forced Big Bear to send packing some 30 to 60 armed security guards — labeled "armed mercenaries" by Trumka — who had been at their Lynco, West Virginia, mine for two and a half weeks.

Union members, by defending themselves on the picket line against these thugs and mobilizing the community against their presence, had defeated Massey's intimidation campaign.

The company first published poster-size newspaper ads offering to remove the guards in exchange for union negotiations with the subsidiary instead of Massey. Then on February 10, without receiving this concession from the union, the guards were moved out.

At his February 11 press conference, Trumka denounced Massey for refusing to negotiate on behalf of its dozens of subsidiaries, and instead insisting that the union negotiate with each separately. A.T. Massey, which is the third-largest coal producer in West Virginia, also has several mines in Kentucky and Tennessee.

Trumka pointed out that these subsidiaries are part of a "corporate shell game" aimed at dividing the union and "insulating the corporation . . . from responsibility."

After tracing ownership of A.T. Massey mines back to the Royal Dutch Shell Group — the owners of Shell Oil — Trumka said, "This is hardly a company in need of concessions."

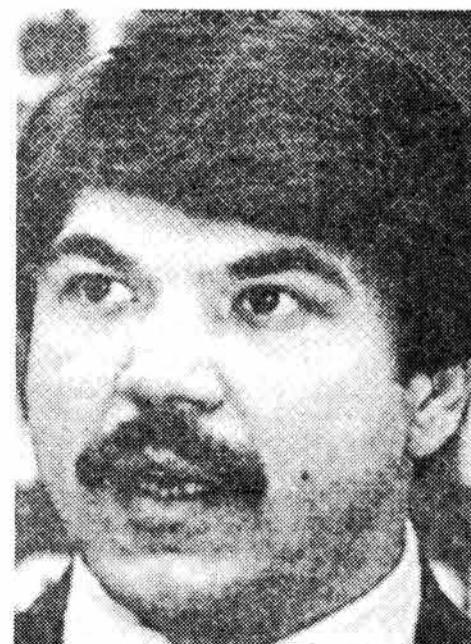
The next day the ranks of the UMWA in

this area responded to Trumka's call for mass picketing. Hundreds of UMWA members picketed the Rawl sales processing company in Mingo County, which is owned by Massey, and shut it down solid.

The wealthy rulers of West Virginia were quick to respond to this victory — the big-business media raised a hue and cry about violence on the picket line, and Governor Arch Moore ordered more state troopers into the area to curb "this disregard for the law." The company put ads in a newspaper informing union workers employed at their processing plant that they would be fired if they didn't return to work on Monday, February 18.

So they showed up on Monday, but with

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Miners union president Trumka calls for mass picketing to end lockouts in West Virginia coalfields.

## Fidel Castro answers U.S. lies

BY HARRY RING

U.S. television viewers had a rare opportunity in mid-February to hear the truth about Cuba from that country's principal political leader, Pres. Fidel Castro. The Cuban president appeared for four nights on the MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour.

The program is carried by Public Broadcasting affiliates across the country and has an estimated nightly viewing audience of four million.

The Castro program was based on a four-hour interview with him by Robert MacNeil in Havana. A Cuban government interpreter provided a running translation.

Utilizing the opportunity to address a substantial U.S. audience, Castro effectively rebutted some of the major U.S. government lies about Cuba, and offered telling arguments against capitalism and for socialism.

The interview — the first major one on U.S. TV in six years — gave viewers quite a different picture of the Cuban leader than the media-created image of a ranting demagogue. What they saw was a political figure who responded to questions forthrightly and who argued cogently and with conviction for his point of view.

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He added:

"The United States accuses us of wanting to promote change. . . . I could answer by saying that the United States wants to maintain an unjust social order that has meant for the people of this hemisphere

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# SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

MIAMI — On December 31, Eastern Airlines Pres. Frank Borman announced that the company would unilaterally reimpose an 18 percent pay cut that had been scheduled to expire that night.

Miami socialists decided to participate in the heated discussions that erupted over this in the huge Eastern maintenance and operations facilities at Miami International Airport. More than 13,000 Eastern employees are based in Miami. More than half of them are organized into the International Association of Machinists (IAM), Transport Workers Union, and Air Line Pilots Association.

Socialists have sold at the main

employee entrances to the maintenance facility for two years. SWP 1984 presidential candidate Mel Mason campaigned there last spring.

Hundreds of workers walk through each entrance at shift changes. Most of the time we found sales to be modest. We thought that the company attack on the workers' wages would make a larger layer of workers interested in reading the *Militant's* coverage about their fight and other labor battles.

We prepared a leaflet with an article entitled "Who really owns Eastern Airlines?" reprinted from the June 22, 1984, *Militant*. This

article took up many of the same questions now on workers' minds. We also added three new sales at different times of the day to expand our weekly presence. And we found two more entrances at the main terminal used by IAM members who handle baggage and ground service for Eastern.

In a little more than a week, we distributed 1,000 copies of the reprint and sold more than 30 copies of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*.

The leaflet explained the broader context of the airline's takeback attacks on the unions. Based on extensive discussions with Eastern workers, it proved

very popular. It helped us introduce the *Militant* to Eastern workers, get into more discussions, and raise broader political questions. And it helped us sell the *Militant*.

Halfway through a sale, workers would come out of the gate looking for a copy of the leaflet, since they had seen others discussing it in the break room a few minutes before. Workers told us that it was photocopied and posted on bulletin boards throughout the Eastern complex.

These sales and distributions allowed us to have the most extensive discussions yet with a wide range of Eastern workers — from pilots to flight attendants, from unorganized clerical and reserva-

tions workers to IAM members. One team happened to sell on the first payday after the 18 percent cut. Workers made a point of stopping to show us their check stubs with the big "1985 Plan" deduction taken out.

We are continuing the larger number of sales teams at Eastern to participate in the ongoing discussions since the new contracts were signed between the company and all three unions. We are also starting a new sale at the large Pan Am maintenance facility, where a similar confrontation is taking place between the company and the mechanics and ground workers organized in the Transport Workers Union.

## N.Y. labor officials build April 20 antiwar march

BY CAROLINE LUND

NEW YORK — More than 100 people from scores of organizations met here on February 13 for the second time to continue building work in New York for the April 19-22 actions for "Peace, Jobs, and Justice."

The actions are organized around the themes of: stop U.S. military intervention in Central America, end U.S. support for South African apartheid and overcome racism at home, freeze and reverse the nuclear arms race, and create jobs and cut the military budget.

### N.J. SANE launches local antiwar coalition

Calling for "visible powerful public opposition" to the U.S. government's policy of war abroad and cutbacks at home, the New Jersey Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE) is organizing a statewide coalition to build the April actions for "peace, jobs, and justice."

To get the New Jersey coalition off the ground, SANE has called an initial meeting to be held at 8 p.m., Wednesday, February 27. The meeting will be held at the United Auto Workers (UAW) headquarters, 16 Commerce Dr., Cranford, New Jersey (exit 136, Garden State Parkway).

For further information or directions, call the UAW at (201) 272-4200, or SANE at (201) 744-3263.

### Barricada Internacional

*Barricada Internacional*, the weekly official voice of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, is now available in Spanish and English. The price is 6 months for \$12.

Send check or money order to:  
Barricada Internacional  
Apdo. No. 576  
Managua, Nicaragua.

Many new faces were present at the coalition meeting as a result of outreach work done since the meeting two weeks earlier.

The meeting made two important decisions, following discussion of different points of view.

One was to empower the outreach committee of the coalition to begin planning an educational/cultural/fund-raising event in New York that could help to mobilize and involve broader forces in building the April actions. The event is slated for late March.

The second decision was to publish a new leaflet that would highlight the April 20 mass demonstration, while also taking note of the lobbying, cultural, and civil disobedience actions that are slated for April 19-21.

One viewpoint expressed at the meeting was concern that if the coalition focuses on the April 20 demonstration, and it turns out to be smaller than expected, the media could use this to belittle the protest.

But the majority view at the meeting was that it was crucial to focus energies on mobilizing for the 20th, since this would be the best way to draw in broad layers of new people and make a powerful political statement, whatever the numbers that turn out.

The meeting also voted to recommend that the national coalition put out a leaflet highlighting the 20th that would be available for the whole country.

Outreach for the April actions is moving ahead. The first meeting of the outreach committee was attended by some 40 people. It broke down into subcommittees to deal with outreach to the Black and Caribbean communities, the Latino communities, students and youth, women, gays and lesbians, religious groups, disarmament-freeze organizations, groups organized against U.S. intervention in Central America, and a general outreach team to deal with everyone from seniors and disabled, to tenants' organizations.

A separate labor outreach committee is headed up by Ernesto Jofre, a staff member of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) Local 169. This committee is made up of official represen-

tatives of local unions. It is spearheading the effort to build union participation in April 20 through contacting other union officials, arranging meetings with them, and soliciting further endorsements.

New labor endorsements have come from: Jonathan House, executive director of the Committee of Interns and Residents; Daniel Kane, president of Local 111, International Brotherhood of Teamsters; Peter Schnall, president, National Association of Broadcast Employees and Technicians; Bill Henning, vice president Local 1180, Communications Workers of America; Andrea Eagan, president, National Writers

Union; Michael Feinstein, secretary-treasurer Local 2, ACTWU; Wilfredo Larancuent, vice president, Headwear Joint Board of ACTWU; Bill Nuchow, secretary-treasurer, Local 840, Teamsters; Amanda McMurray, president Local 3882, American Federation of Teachers (New York University staff); and Local 1930 of District Council 37 of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

The next meeting of the April activities coalition is scheduled for Wednesday, March 6, 7 p.m. at 13 Astor Place, United Auto Workers District 65 headquarters.

## Fourth International backs action

**The following is a statement of support for the April 20 U.S. demonstrations against Washington's war in Central America by the Fourth International. The Fourth International is a world organization of revolutionary Marxists. Its World Congress, which took place this February, brought together representatives from revolutionary parties in 38 countries to discuss and debate questions of working class program and strategy. The World Congress unanimously adopted this statement.**

As the U.S. government deepens its aggression against the workers and peasants of Nicaragua, El Salvador, and throughout Central America and the Caribbean, a march on Washington, D.C., along with protest demonstrations in San Francisco and other cities, has been called for April 20, 1985, by a broad array of forces in the United States.

The first demand of these demonstrations is to stop the U.S. military intervention in Central America. Other demands call for a halt to U.S. support to the apartheid regime in South Africa, to the mounting U.S. war budget and nuclear arms buildup, and to racism and unemployment.

Sponsors of the call already include trade unions such as the International Association of Machinists and the United

Food and Commercial Workers; civil rights organizations such as the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Operation PUSH, and League of United Latin American Citizens; the Rainbow Coalition; the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador and other Central American solidarity and antiwar groups; church and religious organizations; and many other social and political organizations. A nationwide coalition has been set up to coordinate plans for the demonstration, as well as local coalitions in many cities.

Along with the many individuals and organizations that will participate in building this action, the April 20 demonstration offers special opportunities to draw the unions and organizations of oppressed nationalities, women, and working farmers into the fight against Washington's aggression against the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean.

The February 1985 World Congress of the Fourth International hails this initiative in the United States and encourages antiwar forces, Central American solidarity committees, trade unions, workers' organizations, and youth organizations in other countries to discuss holding solidarity actions on or around the April 19-22 antiwar activities in the United States.

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# Puerto Rico: no to U.S. nuclear arms

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

NEW YORK — The *New York Times* revelation that the U.S. government has "emergency" plans to deploy nuclear arms in Puerto Rico and seven other countries was met with denunciations by the people of Puerto Rico.

Rafael Hernández Colón, Puerto Rico's new governor, was forced to make this news the focus of his first public statement on the state of the island, which he delivered the day after the *New York Times* report.

In this statement, Hernández Colón said that he was neither informed nor consulted by the federal authorities about this plan. "The position of my administration," he said, "is unequivocally that the treaty that prohibits the use of nuclear arms in Puerto Rico must be complied with." He was referring to the Tlatelolco Treaty, which prohibits the use or storage of nuclear arms in Latin America.

Hernández Colón informed the Puerto Rican people that he had communicated with White House officials and they had assured him that the plans for deploying nuclear arms were in accord with the treaty of Tlatelolco.

The special Commission on Nuclear Arms in Puerto Rico criticized the governor for accepting the White House's assurances that "Puerto Rico is a nuclear-free area."

The Puerto Rican Bar Association called the governor's explanation "inadequate." Its Board for the Study of Militarism demanded access to all documents that make reference to the plan.

Hernández Colón was later forced to admit that his government does not have the mechanisms to verify whether or not the U.S. government is planning to put, or currently has, nuclear arms on the island. He reiterated his position that Puerto Ricans will have to accept Washington's word.

The *New York Times* report has provoked a public debate within Hernández Colón's Popular Democratic Party (PPD).

Severo A. Colberg, PPD leader and former president of the Puerto Rican House of Representatives, told the press that he has no confidence in the U.S. government's declarations. At the same time, Jaime Fuster, leader of the PPD and current resident commissioner in Washington, D.C., said that it would be "inconsistent" to accept federal aid for the island and at the same time reject the establishment of nuclear bases in Puerto Rico.

In the wake of the *New York Times* revelation, the Puerto Rican Bar Association revealed the results of a two-year study it did on the possible violation by Washington of the Tlatelolco Treaty.

Its study revealed that Roosevelt Roads, the largest U.S. military base in Puerto Rico, is designed to be the alternative general headquarters for the command of the 31 strategic U.S. nuclear submarines in the Atlantic Ocean.

The study also revealed that the U.S. military's multiple communications facilities on the island have the capacity to direct and deploy nuclear arms. The commission's study documented that Roosevelt Roads, Vieques (a small island off the coast of Puerto Rico and part of its national territory), and Puerto Rican sea and air space have been used for training military personnel in the use of strategic nuclear

equipment and technology. This included using Vieques for simulated nuclear bombing exercises called "Bulls-eye Target II."

Finally, the report revealed that there is an almost constant presence of U.S. ships and submarines carrying nuclear arms in Puerto Rico's national waters.

The Puerto Rican independence movement has long charged that there were nuclear arms in the Roosevelt Roads military base. Leaders of the movement demanded that Hernández Colón make public this latest U.S. plan.

Ruben Berrios, the leader of the Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP) who was recently elected to the Puerto Rican Senate, demanded that the governor explain why the Puerto Rican people have not been kept informed about these plans.

Another leader of the PIP and member of the Puerto Rican House of Representatives, Noriega, explained in a radio interview February 17 that the existence of this plan demonstrates once again that Puerto Rico is a colony of Washington. He charged that Hernández Colón, who was

governor of the island from 1972-1976 — during the time when the plan was drawn up — could have known about this plan since that time.

Noriega announced that the Puerto Rican House of Representatives will be investigating this revelation. One of the questions under investigation, he said, will be whether Hernández Colón or former governor Carlos Romero Barceló had known of these plans.

Carlos Gallisá, the Secretary General of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, accused Hernández Colón of trading the security of the island for economic concessions from the U.S. government. He announced that the PSP will go to the World Court and other international bodies to denounce the deployment of nuclear arms in Puerto Rico.

"We will go to all the international forums about this terrible situation that not only puts the security of our lives in danger, but that constitutes a serious threat to peace in the Caribbean, Latin America, and the entire world," he declared.



Public opinion has forced Puerto Rico's governor, Rafael Hernández Colón, to make statements opposing U.S. government plan to deploy nuclear arms in Puerto Rico.

## Against U.S. Navy build-up in Hawaii

New Zealand's prime minister David Lange recently refused a port visit by the U.S. destroyer *Buchanan* after Washington would not guarantee it was free of nuclear weapons. Opposition to allowing U.S. battleships to be based in harbors in U.S. cities has also surfaced.

The *Militant* is reprinting below an article on this subject from the Hawaiian journal *Ka Huliau*. The article by Tracy Takano appeared in the October-November 1984 issue of *Ka Huliau*, which is published every six weeks in Honolulu by Hawaii Education for Social Progress Inc.

It was titled "The question of homeporting" and appeared on the "Commentary" page with an editor's note explaining that it did not necessarily reflect the views of the *Ka Huliau* staff. This article is one of several commentaries on Washington's military build-up in Hawaii. It has been abridged by the *Militant*.

Do we need a battleship in Hawaii? Well, yes, if you are listening to a long list of business, government, and union leaders who have taken up a massive campaign to have the Navy homeport, or station, a battleship at Pearl Harbor. As part of President Reagan's plan to build a 600-ship navy, four battleships — the *Iowa*, the *Missouri*, the *New Jersey*, and the *Wisconsin* — have been brought out of mothballs, and Honolulu is one of the cities in the running as a homeport.

A task force, now called "Homeport Hawaii," was formed to make sure that

Honolulu gets the *New Jersey*. The Navy is scheduled to decide in December of this year which city gets the battleship.

Homeport Hawaii is another of those government-business-labor alliances which are becoming more common nowadays. The most visible members are the heads of three private ship-repair subcontractors — Roy Yee (Kems, Inc.), Ed Parker (Dillingham Shipyards), and Steven Loui (Pacific Maritime) — and Ben Toyama, president of the Hawaii Federal Employees Metal Trades Council.

Homeport Hawaii has gone on an all-out public relations campaign to convince us that we need this battleship. Their message: jobs and \$150 million a year for the local economy.

But there are strings attached to those jobs and that money. Hundreds of strings. Navy chief Admiral James Watkins said it best in a news conference in July: "Hopefully, Hawaii will work hard and win the day, because . . . this is the best spot militarily." But, "We are not going to expose our [military] people to untenable living conditions."

So the Navy started pulling these strings. Strings like "Stop fighting for the return of Kaho'olawe,"\* and "cut out this nonsense about Nuclear-Free zones on Maui and the Big Island." In other words, the Navy wanted all opposition to the military in Hawaii squashed.

\*Kaho'olawe is one of the Hawaiian islands that has been controlled by the U.S. military since 1941. It has been used for target practice by the navy and has been the focus of a movement to end navy control of the island.

It cannot be coincidence that the nuclear-free ordinances on Maui and the Big Island were gutted . . . and the public is treated to daily doses in the media of how terrific the RIMPAC [includes the United States, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and Japan] military exercises on Kaho'olawe were — all in the same year that certain forces in Hawaii are trying to attract a battleship here.

Homeport Hawaii openly lobbied against a resolution in the state Legislature to stop the bombing of Kaho'olawe and the Big Island's anti-nuke ordinance. They have ridiculously tried to play down the impact that 7,000 new people coming to Oahu on the battleship and its support vessels will have on the housing, water, schools and other public services.

In response to the Homeport Hawaii campaign, a group of 11 community and religious leaders issued a statement of concern, citing the bad impact that homeporting would have on Oahu residents and the rest of the world.

The group pointed out that the battleship and its support ships would be capable of carrying sea-launched Tomahawk cruise missiles.

Remember the *New Jersey*? The battleship the Navy is considering homeporting here is the same ship that was tossing Volkswagen-sized shells onto Lebanon last year, killing innocent civilians and holding back the struggle for self-determination in that region. And now the United States, as part of Reagan's openly interventionist foreign policy, wants the *New Jersey* in the Pacific to do the same thing.

The homeporting campaign is nothing but a thinly disguised public relations push to build support for the U.S. military's aggression and interference in Hawaii and around the world that will ultimately only benefit the rich and those few workers who ally themselves with the rich.

As hard as it is, workers have to look at what is in our long-term interest and begin to fight for those things. We have to take stands against war and aggression, like the ILWU [International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union] dockworkers who refused to load ships bound for El Salvador. In the long run we need to fight for an economy that is not totally dependent on tourism and the military, which now can use our paychecks to blackmail us every time they want a new resort development or more militarism in Hawaii.

Unfortunately, this isn't going to happen right now. In the meantime there needs to be a much stronger trade union movement built among the Pearl Harbor workers and all workers that can fight against layoffs and cutbacks or for more productive uses for their skills and labor, such as public works. This has to be built by the rank and file themselves and not through any government-business-labor alliance like "Homeport Hawaii."

Homeporting is no solution for the Pearl Harbor workers, or anyone else looking for a decent future in Hawaii.



Washington wants to station battleship *New Jersey* in Honolulu, using Hawaii as staging ground for military aggression in Pacific.

## Farmers protest across Midwest

Continued from front page

each drawn nearly 1,000 farmers on only a few days notice. In Gove, Kansas, on February 16 a crowd of 200 angry farm men and women chased a sheriff, who was conducting a foreclosure sale, through the courthouse. He was forced to finish the sale hiding in a ditch next to the courthouse.

Carlos Welty told the *Militant* that these actions, along with massive recent rallies in Minnesota, South Dakota, and Iowa show that farmers and their supporters are ready to take direct action to defend themselves against the banks and credit institutions, as well as to put pressure on the government to enact a farm bill that would support fair prices for farm commodities.

# Canadian farmers aid Nicaraguan peasants

The following article is reprinted from the January 1985 issue of *Union Farmer*, the official monthly newspaper of the National Farmers Union of Canada. The author, Terry Pugh, is the editor of *Union Farmer*.

BY TERRY PUGH

Sixteen Canadian farmers left for Nicaragua early in January. By the time they return two months from now, they'll have established a mobile machine shop for repairing and manufacturing agricultural implements, trained over 200 young Nicaraguans in the basics of farm mechanics, and built a solid base of friendship and trust between Canadian and Nicaraguan farmers.

The "Farmers Brigade" was organized by former National Farmers Union (NFU) board member Irving Bablitz of Bruce, Alberta, after he visited Nicaragua last year.

"There is a tremendous need for international assistance to help Nicaraguan farmers overcome their present difficulties," he explained in an interview shortly before leaving with the brigade January 4. "Despite all the gains made over the past five years in food production in that country, there has never been a greater need for technical and financial assistance from the international community."

Bablitz said the American economic blockade of Nicaragua is taking a tremendous toll on essential sectors of that country's economy — most notably agriculture. Because of the trade boycott by U.S. companies, spare parts for farm machinery and trucks have become extremely scarce and expensive. Even such rudimentary tools as machetes have been hard to obtain, he added.

"The economic boycott is doing terrible damage to a country that is struggling to rebuild after so many years of dictatorship and underdevelopment," he explained. "Add to these economic difficulties the very real threat of an American-led military invasion and the constant incursions by 'contras' in rural areas of the country, and it is obvious the farmers of Nicaragua need, and deserve, our assistance."

The Farmers Brigade, which includes farmers from Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba, will be establishing a mobile machine shop in the Rivas area along Nicaragua's west coast. Designed to repair agricultural implements of all types, as well as manufacture or modify parts for machinery and small tools, the shop is an absolute necessity at this time, according to Bablitz. The shop will also serve another, equally important purpose, he adds. "It will be a school for about 240 young Nicaraguans who will be learning the fundamentals of farm mechanics."

While their main activities will be centered around Rivas, the Canadian Farmers Brigade will be making a number of trips to other rural parts of the country, says Bablitz. Many of the co-operative and private farms are using machinery for which the operators have never received proper training, and the Canadians aim to pass on their knowledge of equipment maintenance and operation to these farmers. "We're there to teach people what we know from our own experience," he explained.

"When the Nicaraguan people threw off the shackles of the Somoza dictatorship in 1979, they inherited an agricultural system which was totally alien to them," noted Bablitz. "The majority of producers in that country didn't have time to grow up with the technology which North Americans have gotten used to over the past 30 years. Many of them have had to learn from scratch."

In addition, some of the equipment is inappropriate for the farms' needs, and other necessary implements are totally lacking. One of the types of machines badly needed in Nicaragua, according to Bablitz, is "feed choppers." A forage harvester, this type of machine has rotating flails instead of a cutting bar, and is ideal for utilizing sugar cane as cattle feed. The Canadian brigade shipped a total of nine such harvesters down to Nicaragua, thanks largely to the generosity of farmers in Alberta.

"We bought one feed chopper from an implement dealer," noted Bablitz. "The other eight were donated by farmers. It was

a tremendous response — people turned out to be more generous than I would have dreamed."

The brigade is made up of Bablitz, his son Grant, Art Bunney, Dennis Frederick, John Jacobson, Jack Kirshoen, Laurent St. Denis, George Pollock, Edward Luca, Don Chesney, and Zigmund Sherwood of Alberta. Three Saskatchewan people: Paul Harmon, Lois Ross, and John Iverson, as well as Doug Proven of Manitoba, and a film crew from CBC's "Man Alive" program complete the roster.

"We're doing what we have to do," concluded Bablitz, who along with his family put up a substantial portion of the money necessary to organize the venture. "When someone needs your assistance, the humanitarian thing to do is help them. We're going down there to teach, but we're also going down to learn from a very courageous nation of people."



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

On a coffee farm in Matagalpa, Nicaragua. The Somoza dictatorship, overthrown by Nicaragua's workers and peasants in 1979, left a legacy of underdevelopment. Today, the U.S. economic boycott and U.S.-financed war are damaging efforts to develop Nicaragua's agriculture.

## U.S.-backed war robs peasants of land

BY MIKE FITZGERALD

MATAGALPA, Nicaragua — On January 27, leaders of the Nicaraguan government, including Pres. Daniel Ortega, Minister of Agrarian Reform Jaime Wheelock, and Vice-pres. Sergio Ramírez, met with 30 farmers from the provinces of Matagalpa and Jinotega.

Sixty North American volunteers, who had just finished picking coffee for 15 days, also participated in the meeting, which occurred in the auditorium of a newly built hospital here.

The meeting discussed the political situation of the country. It was organized to let farmers ask questions and discuss the effects of the U.S. government-organized war on their lives. It also allowed the North Americans to hear the testimony of the farmers and to take back the truth about the U.S. war to working people in the United States.

The testimony of the farmers reflected the brutality of the war and the personal and economic destruction caused by it. The farmers we heard were both small and medium private producers. Some were coffee growers who had had their land and homes occupied by the counterrevolutionaries (*contras*). A number of farmers had been forced to leave their land to try to find work in one of the cities nearby. Some reported that their equipment had been destroyed.

All testified that it has been very difficult and at times impossible to harvest the coffee. That which is picked is difficult to transport. Patora Ramon Garcia of Jinotega province said that he had to leave his land on October 24 because of the contras, and that none of his coffee has been picked. Now he is living in Jinotega with nothing. He came to the meeting to ask for assistance.

A number of farmers were cattle owners, with herds ranging from 8 to 500 head. One small producer, Juan Ortiz from Jinotega, described how his whole community of 300 people just outside of Jinotega has virtually abandoned its land because of contra attacks. He lost 12 head of cattle he was forced to leave behind.

Another rancher reported losing 250 head of cattle; another 300. One told how the contras stole his eight animals when he refused to join them. He is now on the street with nothing.

Most of the small and medium farmers present are not now able to make a living. Many told how they had a son or daughter or other relative killed by the contras. Almost every farmer owes a considerable amount of money to the banks, with little possibility of being able to pay it back.

All the farmers were asking the revolutionary government to help them with their problems. Many also expressed their appreciation to the North American guests for coming to Nicaragua. They were glad to know that when we returned to the United States, we would protest Washington's war against Nicaragua.

Some of the farmers were members of

the National Association of Farmers and Ranchers and some other popular organizations, such as the neighborhood Sandinista Defense Committees and the militia.

Jaimie Wheelock and Daniel Ortega pointed out that the contras and the U.S. government are interested in stopping production in Nicaragua. They are attacking all the patriotic producers, including the cooperatives and the private owners.

Ortega reported that the contras have caused a lot of destruction and that there are 3,000 orphans because of the war. Thousands have died and been injured, and many people's lives have been destroyed. But these testimonies, Ortega said, show that production is still going on despite the effects of the contras.

In fact, Ortega noted, with the help of the international brigades, the farmers like those present trying to produce under these conditions, and the volunteer brigades of Nicaraguan workers, students, professionals, and members of popular organizations,

already a large percentage of coffee has been picked.

Although the government can't solve all these problems with the aggression going on, the government has to tell the truth and not ignore the problems, Ortega stated.

The government officials present decided that the banks will be asked to postpone the debts of those farmers facing contra attacks. In the meantime, the government will try to retrieve the cattle that have been left behind. Those who are on the street must be able to get work and become part of the agrarian-reform program. This includes becoming part of a cooperative, as some present expressed an interest in doing. And bank loans must be made easier to get.

The Nicaraguan farmers, noted Ortega, are pioneers for trying to produce under these conditions. Ortega expressed confidence that Nicaragua will defeat the contras and that those peasants dispossessed will be able to return to their property.

## North Americans pick coffee, learn gains of revolution

BY CRAIG HONTS

Over the past four months, more than 500 North Americans have gone to Nicaragua to demonstrate their solidarity with the Nicaraguan revolution by participating in the massive mobilizations taking place to bring in the cotton and coffee harvests.

The North Americans who participated in these brigades went to protest the murderous U.S. government war currently being carried out against Nicaragua. And in the process of working side by side with Nicaraguans in this harvest effort, we received an invaluable education on the dramatic advances being made by the workers and peasants of this extremely poor and underdeveloped country.

We were able to see why millions of Nicaraguans are willing to make whatever sacrifice is necessary to defend their revolution. We felt privileged to receive the opportunity to work directly with and learn from many members and aspiring members of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) and see how they themselves are leading this revolutionary process forward.

The group of 60 North Americans I was with was sent to the UPE (state farm) of Jacinto Baca in the department of Carazo south of Managua.

As we arrived at the state farm we were greeted by a brigade of 60 teachers and educational workers who had already been working at the UPE for a week and had just come marching out of the fields at the end of their 10-hour shift.

The Nicaraguan brigade was led by those who had picked the most coffee. They held a small coffee bush in their hands, and we all came together around them for a rally to welcome the arrival of the North American brigade and explain

the importance of the harvest.

Carlos Aguirre, the political leader of the Nicaraguan brigade, explained:

"This coffee branch held in the hands of the vanguard and distinguished cutters of our brigade signifies a lot for us. It signifies the harvest, the bringing in of the hard currency that is so necessary for our people.

"Every day that the imperialists rule they force us to sell this coffee at an ever lower price, and then they sell us their goods at an even dearer price. But with the spirit of [Nicaraguan hero] Sandino, with the aid of you, and with the help of all the *compañeros* that visit us, we are going to harvest this coffee, bean by bean. Because this coffee that we have to sell every day more cheaply is for us every day more dear. Unarmed brigadistas like ourselves, going into the fields with only their love for the revolution and for our country, have been murdered by the *contra* forces organized by the CIA.

"To harvest these coffee beans, these grains of gold, signifies to us medicine, more schools, more hospitals, more happiness for the people. Reactionary forces oppose these things, they know what the harvest means to us.

"We want to symbolize at this moment our fraternity and brotherhood and appreciation for those who have come to help in this harvest. We present to you this coffee bush, these grains of gold which are in reality priceless. Because all the gold in the world cannot stop us from harvesting the coffee of Nicaragua. Because this coffee has been irrigated with the blood of those who would not be stopped, with the blood of those brigadistas who have already been

Continued on Page 7

# Sandinistas issue major message on economy

## FSLN outlines measures to meet problems caused by Washington's war

BY JOSÉ G. PÉREZ

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — The top leadership of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), which heads the workers and farmers government here, issued a major statement on economic policy February 8.

The message was read by Commander of the Revolution Daniel Ortega, president of Nicaragua, at an assembly of top leaders of the Nicaraguan government, armed forces, and mass organizations. Ortega is one of the nine members of the FSLN National Directorate, which signed the appeal.

"We begin 1985 confronting the greatest difficulties of these five years of revolutionary struggle and work, under the weight of the aggression and the threat of U.S. military power," the message began.

"This despite the efforts of the government and people of Nicaragua to achieve a peaceful solution to the situation created by the decision of the U.S. government, which is trying to deny us the right to self-determination, to peace, and to life itself."

### Escalating U.S. aggression

The statement went over the many efforts made by the Nicaraguan government during the last several years to reach a peaceful, negotiated agreement with Washington, all of which have been answered by escalating U.S. government aggression.

"In recent weeks," the statement continued, "that government has proceeded to blockade, suspend, or withdraw from all the peace-keeping processes that exist in the region."

"They boast in an official document of having 'effectively' blockaded Contadora; they have indefinitely suspended the Manzanillo talks . . . they have withdrawn from the World Court at The Hague."

"The government in Washington," the statement charged, "has proclaimed itself to be judge, jury, and executioner in the case of Nicaragua."

The U.S. government, the statement reported, is also making great efforts to prevent "the continuation of the dialogue between our government and the MISURASATA organization, which [Washington] has managed to split." MISURASATA is a group of Miskito Indians, led by Brooklyn Rivera, that has been part of the CIA war against Nicaragua.

Despite this pattern by the U.S. government, the FSLN plans to continue supporting the Contadora peace talks, as well as pursuing other avenues of negotiation with the United States.

"These peace efforts on the international terrain," the Sandinista leaders said, "are nothing more than the complement of the battle for peace that we are also waging in our homeland against the foreign aggressor."

"To defeat the mercenary forces is to win the battle for peace," the message continued. "And this objective will be achieved to the degree that there isn't a single Nicaraguan who hasn't made his own our doctrine of People's War, strengthening the military organizations of all the Nicaraguans to confront and defeat the mercenary forces of the CIA, and to resist and expel from our homeland an eventual direct military intervention by imperialism."

### Defense preparations expanded

Since the U.S. military threats and provocations around the supposed arrival of MIG planes in Nicaragua last November, thousands more Nicaraguans have joined in defense preparations here. Civil defense plans and installations have been refurbished and updated; many thousands of new militia members have been recruited, trained, and armed; and enforcement of the Patriotic Military Service, Nicaragua's draft, has been strengthened.

The Ministry of Defense has released figures showing an increase in the draft. During the first five weeks of 1985, more than 2,000 people in Managua province were inducted into the army. This region accounts for between one-fourth and one-third of the country's population.

The main part of the message by the FSLN National Directorate focused on the economic situation. It explained the general principles behind, and reasons for, a package of new economic measures designed to strengthen the revolution and better defend the living standards of the nation's workers and peasants.

The direction of the new measures being proposed had been discussed and approved by the January 26-27 National Assembly of Unions—Leonel Rugama. The 800 delegates adopted a resolution calling for "drastic changes in economic policy to defend and deepen the revolutionary process."

The outline of the measures was announced at a news conference by the president of the central bank and the ministers of finances, labor, and internal commerce. This announcement immediately preceded the message from the Sandinista leadership. Both that news conference and the FSLN statement were broadcast live over radio and television, rebroadcast together



Militant/Agnes Chapa

**Marketplace in Managua. In measures designed to eliminate speculation and hoarding, government will end subsidies of basic consumer goods. Workers will receive adjustment in wages to compensate for higher prices. Top consideration for wage hikes will go to manual laborers in factories and fields.**

that evening, and published as a special supplement in the Sandinista daily *Barricada* the following day.

### Shortages, speculation, hoarding

In explaining the deepening problems of shortages, speculation, hoarding, and inflation, the FSLN National Directorate pointed to the U.S. war of aggression, which has, in four years, caused losses totaling more than \$1 billion.

In addition, Nicaragua, together with the rest of the semicolonial world, is being subjected to ever-growing exploitation by the imperialist countries through unequal exchange and rapacious lending practices.

Since 1977 the purchasing power of Nicaragua's exports on the world market has been cut in half. The FSLN leadership cited one dramatic example in its message: whereas in 1973, a 100-pound bag of sugar could buy as much as 10 barrels of oil, today that same bag of sugar can buy only one-fifth of one barrel of oil.

One indication of the acuteness of Nicaragua's economic problems is that its foreign debt has grown from \$1.6 to \$4.35 billion, of which fully one-fifth — \$872 million — represents interest payments that have become part of the debt.

"The low prices that we receive for our export products, the financial obligations that our creditors impose on us, and the economic damage caused by the aggression manifest themselves in a lack of hard currency, which, in turn, translates into limitations to acquire raw materials, agricultural inputs, spare parts, machinery, medicine, food, and basic goods — all basic resources for the subsistence and production in the life of the people."

### Gains of revolution

The statement then went over the advances made since Nicaraguan workers and peasants seized political power five and a half years ago. These included massive expansion of health programs and education; the building of new roads, schools, hospitals, and housing; the wiping out of accumulated peasant debts and the granting of new credits; and more than 7 billion córdobas in government subsidies of milk, rice, and other basic goods.

Even as the U.S. war of aggression has steadily escalated over the past four years, the revolutionary government has carried out an investment equivalent to more than U.S. \$1 billion.

"In sum, if we had to point to some economic error as the basic one, it is that we tried to cover too much at the same time. In reality, we have done more than we were able to do with our limited material resources. And all this despite the enormous degree of destruction we inherited from the Somoza dictatorship, and of the destruction that foreign aggression continues to cost us."

Today, the statement continued, "the quantity of resources that the war demands of us is ever growing. Forty percent of the national budget is destined for defense. Of every 100 pairs of shoes built in the country, 40 are military boots; of every 100

shirts and pants, 40 are of military uniforms; of every 100 pounds of rice that are consumed, 30 go to the battle front; of every 100 liters of oil, 30 go to the soldiers; of 100 bars of soap, 40 are for the soldiers.

"These tremendous expenditures," the statement continued, "to a large degree explain the problems of shortages, price rises, inflation, and speculation that we are confronting and that we are going to combat."

### Speculators

Calling merchants who take advantage of the situation to make profits through speculation "a layer of parasites," the FSLN message said they have "stolen thousands of millions of córdobas from the people." Speculators sometimes manage to create shortages that temporarily double, triple, or quadruple the price of goods overnight.

One recent example was a shortage of cigarettes in Managua, which, although shortlived, allowed price-gougers to sell a package of cigarettes they had bought earlier for 10 córdobas for as much as 50 córdobas.

One of the main aims of the economic measures announced by the government is to "regulate demand." One way this is being done is by holding down the government budget and reducing the budget deficit. Another way, combined with the first, is to increase taxes, targeting especially the informal commerce sector where billions upon billions of córdobas are being hoarded. New luxury taxes, income-tax reform, and capital-gains tax are expected to increase revenues by 2.5 billion córdobas, largely out of this sector.

Government subsidies of basic consumer goods like rice, beans, and cooking oil will be eliminated. The official prices of such goods as beef, chicken, eggs, and milk will go up.

To a certain degree, these increases in official prices merely reflect price hikes that have already taken place. Beef, for example, was already selling for more than double its official price in many places before the recent increase. But the price increases are also aimed at transferring money from the commercial toward the productive sector, both public and private.

What often happened until now was that a small merchant would buy meat, for example, at a store adhering to the government-controlled price of 30 córdobas a pound, and then resell it at double that price. Nicaraguans have even come up with a new word to describe this process, *reventa*, a pun on the Spanish words for reselling and exploding.

### New pricing policy

The aim of the new pricing policy is to eliminate the gap between the government-determined prices and the free market price. It is this gap that has allowed speculators — especially the "resellers" — to make millions of córdobas at the expense of working people.

Instead of going to speculators, the income from the higher prices will now go

**Continued on Page 10**



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Round-up of protesters in Kwangju, South Korea, May 1980.

BY PAT GROGAN

When Kim Dae Jung, the most prominent critic of South Korea's military dictatorship, announced that he would end his more than two years of exile in the United States and return to his country, Washington feared that an Aquino-style murder might be waiting for him. Benigno Aquino, a liberal opponent of the Ferdinand Marcos regime in the Philippines, was murdered two years ago as he stepped off the plane that was returning him to the Philippines.

The Reagan Administration sought assurances from South Korea's military dictator, Chun Doo Hwan, that Kim not be harmed or reimprisoned upon his return. Washington wanted to avoid anything that would expose the true, repressive face of the regime it passes off as a "showcase of democracy." And it wanted to forestall the possibility of mass protests should the government come down on Kim, as happened in the Philippines after Aquino's murder.

#### 'More open society'

But despite an agreement with the Reagan administration that Kim's return would be "trouble-free," the U.S.-backed Chun regime was unable to hide its true colors.

When Kim arrived at the Kimpo airport near the capital city of Seoul on February 8, a "human wall" of South Korean security forces running at full tilt slammed into his party, separated Kim and his wife from his entourage, and placed Kim under house arrest.

"One minute off the plane and we were assaulted by a flying wedge of plainclothes goons," explained Robert White, a former U.S. ambassador to El Salvador who was among a party of people from the United States who accompanied Kim.

Secretary of State George P. Shultz dismissed the attack, which knocked people to the ground and reportedly put two Korean-Americans who were with Kim in the hospital, as "a misunderstanding" and a "scuffle."

Shultz argued that "progress is being made toward a more open society" in South Korea as seen by the fact that, after all, Kim had not been clapped back into jail to serve the remainder of a 20-year sentence for "sedition."

#### History of repression

Kim Dae Jung is a liberal, procapitalist opponent of the current regime. In a farewell visit to Harvard University, he said he was going home not to make a revolution, but to persuade young people "not to be radical."

A staunch anticommunist and supporter of a "truly free-market economy," Kim's demands for democratic reforms, fewer privileges for the all-powerful conglomerates that dominate South Korea's economy, and especially for the formation of trade unions have nonetheless made him the target of continuous repression for over 20 years.

In the 1971 South Korean elections, Kim won 46 percent of the vote against Gen. Park Chung Hee, who had seized power in a military coup a decade earlier. Since then Kim has spent most of his time in jail, under house arrest, or in exile.

When Park was shot to death by the hand of the Korean CIA in October 1979, the present military dictator, Gen. Chun Doo Hwan, seized power.

In May 1980, a massive uprising against continued military rule erupted in the city

of Kwangju. It was brutally repressed, with thousands of residents killed and injured by South Korean paratroopers attached to the combined South Korean-U.S. command headed by U.S. Gen. John Wickham.

Kim was charged with fomenting the uprising, even though he was already in jail at the time. A military court sentenced him to death in September of 1980. The sentence was later reduced to life, then to 20 years.

Finally, in order to defuse growing opposition, the military regime released Kim and forced him to accept exile in the United States as the price for his freedom.

#### Elections

In the last months of 1984, the U.S.-backed military regime has used fierce repression to try to stem the tide of student protests demanding a restoration of democratic rights. The student movement has joined with poorly paid and unorganized workers to demand union rights and better wages.

It is in this context of rising opposition to military rule that the recent South Korean elections took place.

The New Korea Democratic Party — the newly-formed capitalist opposition party that is associated with Kim — ran on a platform opposing the military dictatorship, and won 50 seats in the 276-member assembly. This is a reflection of the deep-seated opposition to the military's repression, the purpose of which is to prevent South Korea's workers and peasants from organizing to combat the economic exploitation and political oppression they suffer at the hands of U.S. imperialism.

#### Imperialist domination of South Korea

South Korea's economy is totally dominated by U.S. imperialism, while the country is militarily occupied by U.S. troops.

Because of its rapid economic growth in recent years, South Korea has been touted by the imperialists as a "showcase" of capitalist development.

# Behind South Korea's 'economic miracle': military rule, low wages, no union rights

Kwangju — by the U.S. military.

Korea has been artificially divided since 1948. From 1950 to 1953, Washington, joined by 15 other imperialist powers, sent hundreds of thousands of troops to try and forcibly roll back the workers and farmers revolution in the North and prevent the working people in the South from following suit.

The imperialists were fought to a standstill. Although they maintained their rule in the South, they were forced to accept — for the time being — the existence of the workers' state in the North.

South Korea has been occupied by the U.S. military since then. In addition to the 39,000 U.S. troops permanently stationed in South Korea, it is known that Washington has as many as 1,000 nuclear weapons in its arsenal there.

The 600,000-strong South Korean army is under the command of a U.S. officer.

#### Aggression against North Korea

The U.S. occupation army is not only used against South Korea's working people. It is a constant source of military pressure against the North.

After the Korean War, North Korea had been pounded into rubble by U.S. bombs.

In the first three months of the war alone, the U.S. air force dropped 97,000 tons of bombs and 7.8 million gallons of napalm on the North. Every major industrial enterprise in the North was destroyed.

But on the basis of the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of a planned economy, North Korea has made tremendous economic progress.

A Sept. 11, 1984, *Washington Post* article pointed out that "thirty years after the Korean war devastated its cities and industries, the North has built a standard of living that some foreign visitors have likened to Eastern Europe's."

The economic growth in the North has worked to better the lives of the working

Continued on next page

## 'IP' reports on struggle in Lebanon

Two and a half years after the massive and brutal Israeli invasion of Lebanon, the Zionist regime has begun to withdraw some of its troops from the occupied southern third of that country.

The March 4 *Intercontinental Press* features two articles on the current situation in Lebanon, including the factors behind this Israeli withdrawal.

In an eyewitness report from Beirut, correspondent Georges Sayad reports on the massive resistance in southern Lebanon to the continued Israeli occupation. Mounting armed attacks on Israeli troops and their collaborators, general strikes involving both Muslims and Christians, and demonstrations by Palestinian refugees have all put considerable pressure on the Israeli forces.

In a companion article, Steve Craine notes the partial and tentative nature of the Israeli withdrawal, including explicit threats to invade Lebanon once again.

The reason for this "aggressive strategy" — as it is called in Tel Aviv

— is the Zionists' failure to achieve everything they hoped for when they first invaded in 1982. Although big blows were inflicted against the Palestinian liberation struggle, Tel Aviv and its backers in Washington have not succeeded in imposing a stable proimperialist regime in Lebanon.

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# UAW local ends 9-month strike at AP Parts

BY JOE CALLAHAN

TOLEDO, Ohio — On February 10, striking AP Parts workers, members of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 14, voted 254 to 72 in favor of ratifying a new contract. This ended a nine-month-long strike, during which the company operated the plant with scabs.

AP Parts, an auto exhaust systems manufacturer, opened its union-busting drive in early January, 1984, with a full-page newspaper ad demanding massive concessions from the union and threatening to close the plant or move South if the union didn't give in. The employers demanded gigantic cuts in wages and benefits, and the complete elimination of job classifications and seniority rights.

As union-busting preparations, the company put up a barbed-wire fence, hired scores of goons from the security firm Nuckles, Inc., and paraded in hundreds of people applying for jobs as scabs. In the face of this, when the contract expired March 4, union members decided to continue working without a contract, after unanimously voting down the company's "offer."

The next day the company unilaterally imposed its final contract offer, cutting wages to \$8.50 an hour — a cut of more than \$5 an hour for many workers. Insurance benefits were eliminated. All workers were given numerous disciplinary slips for "loafing" and for almost any excuse imaginable — from going to the bathroom to chewing gum.

Before the contract expired, 64 workers were forced into early retirement in the face of company plans to cut pensions significantly. The company also laid off about 100 workers.

In response, the union filed a complaint with the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB). When the NLRB ruled in favor of the company, workers struck the plant on May 2.

Within days the company began bringing in scabs. This was a challenge to the UAW in Toledo, which is a union town and the home of the 1934 Autolite strike that paved the way for the birth of the UAW.

On May 21 the UAW responded with a militant solidarity demonstration of some 3,000 workers in front of the plant gate. The cops attacked the demonstration, firing dozens of tear gas canisters, shooting wooden bullets, and arresting more than 40 workers, beating some of them. Workers fought back, throwing tear gas canisters back at the cops along with rocks and bottles. Seventeen police cars were put out of commission and a Nuckles, Inc., security van was demolished. The company was forced to close the plant for two days.

Over the course of the year most of the unionists arrested at the May 21 demonstration or afterwards were victimized by the courts. Sixteen union members were convicted of felonies, including Danny Wilson, chairman of the Jeep unit of UAW Local 12. Wilson and the Jeep UAW executive committee had mobilized a large number of workers and played a leading role in the May 21 demonstration. The company continued its union-busting drive, running the plant with two shifts of scabs.

AP Parts workers stayed on the picket lines. Not a single union member scabbed. In December, workers turned down a company offer by a vote of 225 to 5. The union

cited company refusal to grant amnesty to fired workers, and unacceptable takeaways in wages and insurance. Then suddenly, on February 8, the union announced that a tentative agreement had been reached.

At the ratification meeting, most workers said they were glad that the long strike battle was finally over. They felt that although the contract contains big concessions, it is not as bad as the conditions and wage cuts originally imposed by the company and that the union couldn't hope to gain more by continuing the strike.

One worker, commenting on the contract, said, "Well, it's not like anything we had before, but I guess we'll have to take it. I don't know what would happen if we stayed out another six or nine months."

The company backed off from its hard stand against the union's demand for amnesty for 21 workers who were fired for strike-related activities.

AP Parts had been on a major campaign against such an amnesty, which included taking out a full-page newspaper ad accusing the strikers of violence and vowing that they would not yield to union demands that all striking workers be allowed to return to work.

Under the new agreement all 21 workers will be rehired, but will be given suspensions of up to six months. The UAW will provide the suspended workers with financial assistance.

The new agreement also permits workers who retired before the expiration of the old contract — in order to avoid the proposed drastic cuts in pension benefits — to come back to work.

The biggest concession won by the company was in lowering wages. Wage rates for production workers in labor grade four, the largest group of workers, will be \$10.25 an hour and will be frozen until December 1985. Then workers will begin getting wage increases totalling \$1.50 an hour by December 1987. COLA (cost-of-living-allowance) will be completely suspended for the first two years of the three-year con-



Militant/Morrie Dietrich

Toledo, Ohio, AP Parts strikers at July 1984 UAW demonstration.

tract. In the third year, two meager COLA increases with a cap of 10 cents on each will be given.

The agreement also eliminates an incentive pay system, under which workers earned considerable bonuses, and replaces it with a new bonus system based on plantwide productivity, under which workers expect to earn considerably less.

Another wage concession is a two-tier system of wages for new hires, who will start at 85 percent and receive 5 percent increases every six months until reaching the full rate. The company had demanded a permanent two-tier structure in which workers would never catch up.

Workers will lose 2 holidays and vacation pay will be decreased, as will the length of vacation for some workers. The contract contains some erosion of seniority rights, particularly in relation to temporary

layoffs and job assignments within a classification. Insurance benefits and pensions will remain the same.

The contract includes a stipulation that the company will not institute any new work rules or penalties for the first six months, and that all previous disciplinary reprimands will be removed from workers' files.

The company agrees in the contract to return production of some parts that were transferred to their plant in Goldsboro, North Carolina, which is nonunion.

In the first week after the strike the company called back more than 150 workers, and it is rumored that they will call back 50 more workers at the beginning of the second week.

*Joe Callahan works at Jeep and is a member of UAW Local 12.*

## Coffee brigade expresses solidarity

Continued from Page 4

killed in this production effort. This coffee has been irrigated with the blood of our heroes and martyrs."

The main theme of the rally was that while thousands of Nicaraguan workers, peasants, and students are fighting and dying on the front lines in the war zones, the second line of battle in this war for national sovereignty is here in the coffee and cotton fields.

Shattering the Nicaraguan economy is one of the main goals of the CIA-financed war against the people of Nicaragua.

Nicaragua enters the harvest with a severe labor shortage that has been aggravated by the military mobilizations needed to defend the country.

Faced with the prospect of thousands of tons of coffee rotting in the fields, the Sandinista leadership has turned to the masses to confront this problem.

The backbone of this gigantic mobilization to bring in the harvest has been the mass organizations. The Rural Workers' Association, the Sandinista Youth, National Employees Union, Sandinista Work-

ers Federation, National Union of Farmers and Ranchers, and the FSLN itself have been at the center of organizing the brigades of workers for the harvest.

The mass mobilizations for the harvest help bridge the gap that exists between the city and the countryside. The extreme poverty and underdevelopment in the countryside is a shock to most of the North Americans who go on the brigades.

Many Nicaraguans from the cities are also unaware of what life is like for the peasantry until they experience it firsthand during the harvest.

Living under the same extremely hard conditions and working side by side with the peasants help to inspire workers and youths from the cities with the vision of what the revolution will need to accomplish.

Under the U.S.-backed Somoza dictatorship, the peasants were treated as the lowest form of humanity. The political attention and effort now given to the harvest by the whole country serve to fill the *campesinos* with a sense of pride and give them an understanding of the central importance of the work they carry out every day.

## S. Korea's 'economic miracle'

Continued from Page 6

people of that country. Everyone in North Korea is guaranteed a job. Medical care and education are free. Rent is on an average of 2 to 3 percent of a worker's monthly income.

Women workers are not forced into prostitution as they are in the South. Some 85 percent of women under the retirement age of 55 work outside the home. By 1971, 80 percent of babies were enrolled in nurseries and kindergartens.

The different priorities of North and South Korea can also be seen in the field of medicine. In the North there are 23.3 doctors per 10,000 people. In the South, the ratio is only 5.7 to every 10,000 people. In South Korea, there was one hospital bed for every 1,310 people in 1981, one of the worst ratios in the world. In North Korea, there was one bed for every 333 people.

An extensive health care system has raised North Korea's life expectancy to 73 years as of 1980, compared to 68 years in the South.

The large number of schools and universities has virtually eliminated illiteracy.

Agriculture has become more productive, freeing more people for industrial work.

In fact, in September 1984, North Korea mounted a relief effort to aid flood-ravaged South Korea, where some 200 people were killed and 200,000 left homeless.

The North Korean relief effort included 100,000 tons of cement, 7,200 tons of rice, and 759 cases of medicine. Previous North Korean relief efforts had been turned down by the South Korean regime.

This tremendous economic progress has been made despite the fact that North Korea has had to divert huge resources to defense as a result of U.S. military threats. The North Korean government must spend as much as 24 percent of its gross national product on military defense.

Every year since 1976, Washington has engaged in massive military maneuvers aimed at North Korea. In 1984, the "Team Spirit" exercises involved some 200,000 troops — 60,000 of them U.S. military personnel.

These annual exercises are full-scale practice invasions of North Korea by air, land and sea.

The struggle of the masses in South Korea against imperialist domination and military repression, and the gains of the workers and peasants of North Korea, are both targets of Washington's military threats.

## UMW mobilizes in W. Va. coalfields

Continued from front page

800-1,000 supporters with them. Leading the march were Rawls employees, their wives, and other women supporters of the strike. Backing them up were hundreds of UMWA miners from districts 17 and 29 in West Virginia and district 30 in Kentucky. When they reached the gate, it was barricaded with a coal truck. The company informed them that due to "abnormal circumstances" they could not be processed to return to work that day.

To further expose the company's union-busting intentions, the union's chief negotiator was on hand at the gate, and the union set up a table and two chairs to emphasize their readiness to negotiate with a Massey representative at any time.

The following day there was a rally of

1,500 at the plant. While the rally was still going on, the company agreed to start negotiations for the first time since the strike began. Some progress was made on a local issue, but a settlement was seen as unlikely without direct participation by Massey in negotiations.

The stakes in this battle are high. Miner James Laxton, who was quoted in a Charleston newspaper, summed it up pretty well. "We can't let scab labor in here. It would spread like wildfire and southern West Virginia would be nonunion. There is no way we can let that happen. This area's been union for 60 or 70 years. It's a good cause and we're going to have to fight it."

*Dave Ferguson is a laid-off coal miner and member of UMWA Local 2095.*

# Castro answers U.S. government's lies

Continued from front page

poverty, hunger, underdevelopment, diseases, ignorance."

He was equally forthright in responding to Washington's assertion that Cuba would have to end its "allegiance" to the Soviet Union if U.S.-Cuban relations are to improve.

Castro declared:

"If, in order to improve our relations with the United States, we must give up our convictions and our principles, then relations will not improve. . . . Relations between the Soviet Union and Cuba are based on the most strict respect for the independence and sovereignty of our country. We have friendly relations, very close relations, and these relations cannot be affected in order to improve relations with the United States."

A good part of the interview centered on Cuba's role in Central America, particularly its relations with Nicaragua.

Isn't Cuba's military aid to Nicaragua helping to "sustain" a "Marxist-Leninist regime?"

Castro answered:

"We are helping an independent country. We are helping a just revolution to defend itself. . . . In the same way that, for example, the United States has also sent weapons to other people in this hemisphere."

"It sent weapons to Somoza. . . . It sent weapons to Pinochet. . . . It sent weapons to all the repressive governments of Latin America, governments that murdered, tortured dozens of thousands of people. . . . They had no moral obstacle to giving economic, financial, and military assistance to these governments. So on what moral grounds can our right be questioned to help Nicaragua, and Nicaragua's right to receive that aid?"

"I ask the following: Can the United States help the counterrevolutionary bands, supply weapons to them . . . to fight inside Nicaragua — something that has meant the lives of thousands and thousands of people — and on the other hand question Cuba's right, and Nicaragua's right, to give them aid — economic, technical aid? And even some cooperation in the military field?"

## Nicaragua

Queried on the prospects for a "political settlement" in Central America, Castro responded that this was really up to Washington. He added that he did not believe that Washington would genuinely seek such a settlement as long as it believed its economic blockade and support to the counterrevolutionary invaders could bring down the Nicaraguan government.

He added that he did not think Washington would succeed in its goal; Nicaragua, he said, can surmount its economic difficulties and defeat the *contras*.

At that point, he continued, Washington will have no alternative but to "negotiate seriously" or to invade Nicaragua.

However, he added, with the present volatile crisis throughout Latin America, the invasion of a Latin American country would be "catastrophic in political terms. It would mean such a political cost, and not only a political cost, but in terms of U.S. lives. . . ."

Looking at the hemisphere as a whole, MacNeil asked, which countries did he consider "ripe for revolution right now?"

Castro replied that, "from the viewpoint of social conditions and objective conditions, not only Central America, but actually and more important, South America. In that area, a situation has been created, from the objective point of view, that is a prerevolutionary situation."

He recalled that during the Kennedy administration, Washington thought that by investing \$20 billion in the "Alliance for Progress," revolutionary situations could be averted.

"Twenty four years have elapsed since then," Castro observed. "The population has doubled. The social problems have tripled. The debt is \$360 billion. And only in interest they must pay \$40 billion a year — double what Kennedy thought was going to solve the problem. . . ."

"If a solution is not found to the problem of the debt, I am convinced that the Latin American societies will explode. Because there is a situation of despair among the workers, among the middle strata, and

even in the oligarchy. . . ."

"And it may explode not in one country but it may explode in many countries. . . . But I'm not only referring to the debt. The interest, the \$40 billion in interest, they cannot pay it. . . . And the effort to force them to pay it will actually bring about a social convulsion, a revolutionary explosion."

To deal with this problem, Castro declared, a moratorium should be declared for several decades on both the principal and interest on the huge debts.

The United States, he said, "knows now — at least they understand that — that if the situation in Chile continues, in the not-too-distant future they might face a Nicaragua or even something worse than Nicaragua in the Southern Cone. . . ."

## 'Human rights'

Turning to the issue of "human rights," MacNeil asked if there were political prisoners in Cuba.

Castro replied:

"Yes, we have them. We have a few hundred political prisoners. Is that a violation of human rights?"

MacNeil responded it was a human-rights violation to jail people for their beliefs.

Castro continued:

"I will give you an example. In Spain there are many Basque nationalists in prison. They're not political prisoners? What are they? Because you also have to analyze what is a political prisoner and what is not a political prisoner."

"Now then, those who committed crimes during Batista's time, did we have the right to put them on trial or not? Okay. Those that invaded Cuba through Playa Giron. Did we have the right to try them or not? Those that became CIA agents, those that placed bombs, those that brought about the deaths of peasants, workers, teachers. Do we have the right to put them into court or not?"

"Those who, in agreement with a foreign power like the United States and backed and inspired by the United States, conspire in our country and struggle and fight against our people in this revolution . . . what are these people? What are they? Political prisoners?"

MacNeil again asked if there were some in jail simply for their ideas.

Responded Castro: "No one. Not because of political beliefs, nor because of religious beliefs."

MacNeill argued that the Cuban system presupposes that Castro is infallible.

## 'No cult of personality'

The Cuban leader answered:

"No, it does not presuppose that because we are not as dogmatic as the church . . . and we have never preached cult of the personality. You will not see a statue of me anywhere, nor a school with my name, nor a street, nor a little town . . . because we have taught our people not to believe but to

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

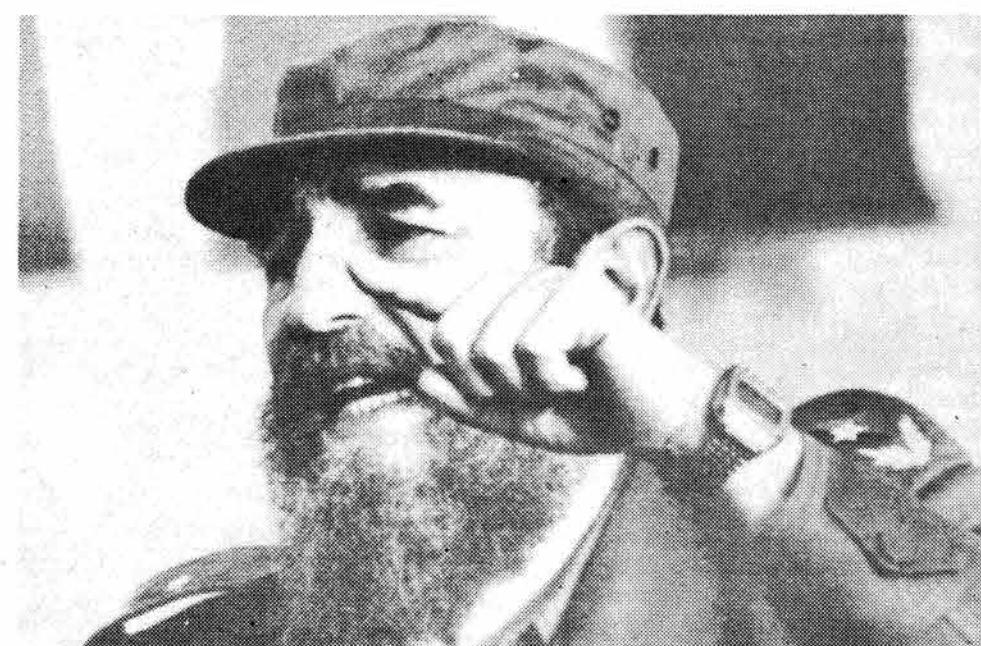
In a Syracuse, New York, courtroom February 4, a 23-year-old was sentenced to six months in federal prison and 30 months probation for refusing to register for the draft.

Andrew Mager was the 18th to be indicted and the seventh or eighth to be sentenced" for not registering, according to the Central Committee for Conscientious Objection (CCCO), a national antidraft organization.

It's "highly likely" there will be more prosecutions in the future, CCCO spokesperson Mike Bata told the *Militant*. Recent court rulings have upheld different aspects of the registration process, including selective prosecution of the "most adamant" resisters.

The prosecution of Mager was indeed selective. There are 560,000 other 18- to 26-year-olds — 4.2 percent of an estimated pool of 13.3 million — who have so far failed to register, according to Glen Ford, an official of the Selective Service Data Center in Chicago.

For 18-year-olds — those most likely to



Cuban president Fidel Castro: four million television viewers in United States recently had chance to hear Cuban leader tell truth about revolution.

think, to reason out. . . ."

"And they might either agree or disagree with me. In general, the overwhelming majority have . . . been in agreement. Why? Because we have always been honest, always told them the truth. This people know that from this government a lie has never been told to them. And I ask you to go to the world, tour the world, and go to the United States and ask if they can say what I can say, that I have never told a lie to the people."

"But," MacNeil asked, "doesn't the system mean the revolution is always right?"

"You, when you made your independence war, you did not even free the slaves, and you said you were a democratic country. You, for 150 years, did not even allow the Black man to part of a baseball team, a basketball team, to enter a club, to go to a white children's school. And you said it was a democracy."

"None of these things exist here — neither racial discrimination nor discrimination due to sex. It is the most fair, egalitarian society there has ever been in this hemisphere. So we consider that it is superior to yours."

"But you believe that yours is the best without any discussion whatsoever. Although there might be multimillionaires and barefoot people begging in the streets, without any homes, people unemployed. And you believe it's perfect because you believe things. I don't think think that type of society is perfect, really. I think ours is better."

## An armed people

MacNeil argued that in Cuba there's no room for dissent.

Castro responded:

"Let's suppose the people might not agree with the revolution. How could we have millions of people organized to de-

fend the country? . . . Tell the South Africans . . . that they [should] give the weapons to the Blacks of South Africa. Tell your friend Pinochet to give the weapons to the people of Chile. . . . You speak of democracy. The first and most important form of democracy is for the citizens to feel part of power and part of the state. And how do we prove this? We have an armed people, men and women, millions of people. If they would not be in agreement . . . they would solve things rapidly. We would not be able to stay in power for 24 minutes."

Castro went on to describe the scope of the armed preparation of the Cuban people. He explained: "We are not going to wait for a government of the United States to attack the country for us to then start preparing ourselves."

He added that even if there should be improved relations with the United States, Cuba would not relax its guard.

He declared, "When the United States gives up its weapons, we will give up our weapons."

## 'Balance'

For "balance," the TV program offered a response to Castro by Deputy Secretary of State Kenneth Dam.

Dam asserted that the Carter administration had given aid to the Sandinista government until Cuba allegedly led it down the wrong path. He neglected to mention that the "aid" consisted of emergency food relief which lasted but a few months.

Despite the U.S.-sponsored *contra* invasion, Dam declared, without blushing, that Washington is trying to find "a peaceful solution" to the Nicaragua issue.

He further declared there would be no peace with Cuba so long as it supports "Marxist-Leninist movements" in the hemisphere.

## Antidraft protester sentenced to 6 months

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

In a Syracuse, New York, courtroom February 4, a 23-year-old was sentenced to six months in federal prison and 30 months probation for refusing to register for the draft.

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The prosecution of Mager was indeed selective. There are 560,000 other 18- to 26-year-olds — 4.2 percent of an estimated pool of 13.3 million — who have so far failed to register, according to Glen Ford, an official of the Selective Service Data Center in Chicago.

For 18-year-olds — those most likely to

be called up for active service in the event the draft was reinstated — the rate of non-compliance is five times higher: 22.1 percent of an estimated pool of 1.3 million.

Failure to register is a federal crime carrying a maximum sentence of five years in prison and a \$10,000 fine. But the government so far has neither instituted widespread court proceedings nor sought the maximum sentences.

Instead, federal officials have drawn up a list of some 1,000 "vocal" draft resisters and begun scattered prosecutions. These prosecutions in turn have been used for their intimidation effect and to shore up the legality of enforcement procedures.

The draft has always had the support of both major capitalist parties. Republican President Nixon halted conscription in January 1973 but only after Vietnamese freedom fighters, aided by a massive antiwar movement in the United States, had already driven all but a handful of U.S. troops out of Vietnam. It was a Democrat, President Carter, who reinstated draft registration in July 1980 as part of the preparation for the next U.S. imperialist war.

Since then, more than 2,000 draft boards have been set up across the country and 12.7 million young men have registered.

In 1982, in one of the earliest court tests, a federal judge in Los Angeles threw out the indictment of registration opponent David Wayne, arguing that he had been illegally singled out for prosecution because of his protests. But in July 1983 a federal appeals court reinstated the indictment, and in May 1984 the Supreme Court agreed to issue a final ruling in the case.

That decision has not yet been issued. But the Supreme Court ruled by a 6-2 vote in July 1984 that it was okay for the federal government to refuse financial aid to college students who had not signed up for the draft. The decision overturned two separate lower-court rulings — in Minnesota and Massachusetts — that had barred enforcement of the law as "unconstitutional."

Registration is an essential part of Washington's preparation for war. But it is not the same as the draft. Actually reinstating conscription and sending draftees into combat in Latin America, Africa, Asia, or the Middle East will require a confrontation with young U.S. workers and farmers.

# Resolution assesses class forces in U.S. politics today

BY JOHN STUDER

"The Revolutionary Perspective and Leninist Continuity in the United States" was a resolution approved in draft form by the Socialist Workers Party's August 1984 convention. It was then submitted for further discussion by the party membership, and adopted after extensive editing at its January 1985 national gathering which also voted to submit it to the 1985 World Congress of the Fourth International. It is the feature article in the spring 1985 issue of *New International*.

*New International*, a magazine of Marxist politics and theory, is jointly edited by leaders of the SWP in the United States and the Revolutionary Workers League of Canada. It is designed for discussion and practical use by working-class fighters and their allies among the oppressed and exploited.

## Union bureaucracy

The SWP resolution describes the deep ruling-class offensive against workers and farmers in the United States today.

While workers and farmers have demonstrated their willingness to fight back against the rulers' attacks, they are hamstrung by the craven, class-collaborationist outlook of the bureaucratic leaderships of the unions. The resolution describes how these leaders and their predecessors succeeded over the decades since the post-World War II labor upsurge of the 1940s in institutionalizing as guiding policy the notion that the unions share common interests with employers and the capitalist government. These class-collaborationist policies sapped the fighting capacities of the unions.

The international economic recession of 1974-75 signalled an across-the-board offensive by the ruling class against the working class. This — and the emerging resistance to it by the ranks — has pushed the industrial working class and its unions to the center of politics in the United States.

Worker militants have made initial attempts to grapple with this offensive, handicapped by the dead-end approach of their officials. The resolution explains that "we have entered the initial stages of a preparatory period, which will lead in coming decades to a prerevolutionary upheaval marked by revolutionary struggles of the kind that workers and farmers in the United States have not seen in more than a century."

## Turn to industrial unions

Given the changed objective situation, the party decided in 1978 to make "a turn to the industrial unions." The first section of the resolution outlines this effort to place the large majority of party members and leaders in industrial-union jobs and to build national industrial-union fractions.

The party's work in the industrial unions takes as its starting point the world class struggle and its reflection in this country. Within this broad perspective, the resolution explains that SWP members in the industrial unions function on three different levels.

First, they are members of the revolutionary party, distributing the party's publications at plant gates and political gatherings, participating in party branch life, and promoting and recruiting to the party.

Second, as workers, they seek to involve other workers in political activities like attending a party forum, joining a protest against police brutality, or building participation in actions against the U.S. war in Central America and the Caribbean like that planned for April 20 in Washington, D.C.

Third, they are union activists with a revolutionary perspective for the unions. In order to achieve their long-term goal of helping to forge a new fighting union leadership, they must operate "within the union structures and realities of today, with a clear view of the revolutionary transfor-

mation that will occur tomorrow."

Revolutionaries promote the long-range strategy of class struggle, while participating in the actual battles taking place. They respond to immediate questions such as proposed contracts put to the ranks for a vote by the union officialdom or to elections for union posts — from the standpoint of advancing the interests of the union as it is today.

In addition to discussing the concrete tasks facing communist workers in the unions, the resolution also outlines the guiding strategic perspective of building a fighting worker-farmer alliance. It quotes the party's statement of purpose: "to educate and organize the working class in order to establish a workers and farmers government, which will abolish capitalism in the United States and join in the worldwide struggle for socialism."

## Central America and the Caribbean

The second section of the resolution explains that the revolutions unfolding in Central America and the Caribbean, and the efforts of U.S. imperialism to drown them in blood, are at the heart of politics today. Therefore, the number one task for the party and its industrial fractions is the fight against this growing war.

It explains that the party's turn to the industrial unions was "decisive to placing the party in a position to act effectively in the class battle in the United States over the deepening imperialist war."

By being based in the industrial unions, the SWP is in a position to avoid sectarian hesitation in learning from the "revolutionary experiences in Central America and the Caribbean, and to relearn and absorb the lessons from twenty-five years of experience of socialist revolution in Cuba."

For its first 20 years, revolutionary Cuba stood alone in the Americas. This changed in 1979 with the revolutionary victories in Nicaragua and Grenada.

The Cuban revolution marked a historic turning point: "for the first time since the degeneration of the Russian revolution, the world revolution made a mighty advance under the leadership of revolutionary forces that developed outside the Stalinist communist parties." And, the resolution notes, "the development of internationalist leaderships in Grenada, Nicaragua, and El Salvador has confirmed that the leadership breakthrough represented by the Cuban victory was — like the Cuban revolution itself — not an exception."

These developments reaffirm the correctness of the course taken by the SWP in helping to found the Fourth International in 1938. The resolution explains that "there is a political convergence between our world current and other revolutionists in the Americas, in the first place the leadership of the Communist Party of Cuba, who are charting a course in practice that leads to

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Militant/Mark Berry

United Auto Workers contingent at 1984 Indiana demonstration for Jobs, Justice, and Peace. UAW is one of nine industrial unions socialist workers focus their political work in. SWP decided in 1978 to get large majority of members into industrial unions. They are involved in day-to-day battles on job, while they put forward a strategic perspective of need for working people to take political power to establish a workers and farmers government.

reestablishing continuity with the internationalist program and strategy of the Communist International in Lenin's time."

## Decisive weight of leadership question

This process of ongoing proletarianization of the Cuban leadership has served as an example for revolutionaries in Nicaragua, Grenada, and El Salvador. As this process advanced, forces from differing backgrounds were attracted to this proletarian course, leading towards fusions in each of these countries. The resolution notes that this has been crucial, because "without a sufficiently strong vanguard, united around a proletarian strategy, revolutionary opportunities will be lost."

At the same time, each of these leaderships has had factional attacks from within that undermined the organization's links with the workers and farmers, and endangered the revolution.

In Grenada, the victory of the faction around Bernard Coard over the wing of the New Jewel Movement led by Maurice Bishop resulted in the overthrow of the workers and farmers government there. It laid the groundwork for the subsequent invasion by U.S. imperialism.

These petty-bourgeois forces "favored use of bureaucratic and administrative measures in place of the organization and mobilization of the working people, in an attempt to leap over objective problems facing the revolution."

The experience in Grenada echoes a challenge to the Cuban revolution from a faction within the revolutionary movement led by Anibal Escalante. In Cuba, however, the bureaucratic faction of Escalante was exposed and decisively smashed.

## Takeback decade

The third section of the resolution looks at the bipartisan attacks by the ruling class against working people in the last 10 years.

The resolution highlights the direct stake the working class has in the resistance of

exploited farmers to this offensive. It explains that any success the ruling class has in driving farmers off the land or reducing them to hired hands weakens the worker-farmer alliance.

The resolution explains that the growing ruling-class attacks on workers and farmers "run up against the gigantic conquests that the working class and the oppressed nationalities achieved through determined struggles from the second half of the 1950s through the early 1970s." These attacks have been combined with a sustained ideological offensive aimed at dividing and further weakening the organizations of workers and farmers.

The resolution also examines how ruling class ideological pressures have found a sympathetic response among middle-class radicals.

One example is a growing trend among these radicals to discover religion for themselves, or to become apologists for religion and make political peace with the church.

A second example was provided during the 1984 elections by many liberal and middle-class radicals who joined in the rulers' ferocious smear campaign about "Black anti-Semitism," directed against the Black nationalist agitation of Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan.

A third example was the development of the "gender gap" myth, which asserts that women in general are more politically progressive than men, the "evidence" being that opinion polls show more women than men state they vote for Democrats.

## Political continuity

The resolution's final section is titled "The Turn to the Industrial Unions and the Party's Political Continuity." In 1938 the SWP was founded "to construct a proletarian communist party in this country, based on the unions of the industrial working class."

That same year the SWP played a leading role in founding the Fourth International. The resolution explains that the emergence of the revolutionary leadership of the Cuban Communist Party, reinforced since 1979 by the Sandinista National Liberation Front in Nicaragua, "demonstrates the correctness of the decision forty-seven years ago to launch the Fourth International with the goal of advancing the fight to build a new mass revolutionary international."

The resolution reviews the direct continuity of the party's revolutionary, proletarian perspectives with the positions adopted at its founding convention.

The internationalist perspective of the SWP has as one of its centerpieces the necessity of defending the Soviet workers state from imperialist attack. This principle was firmly established at the party's founding. The resolution explains, "the convention reaffirmed the communist position that the nationalized industry and land that form the economic foundation of the Soviet Union are a mighty conquest of the world proletariat. Although usurped politically and oppressed by a petty-bourgeois bu-

Continued on Page 10

## New International

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### The Workers' and Farmers' Alliance in the U.S.

Articles by Jack Barnes and Doug Jenness

### Land Reform and Farm Cooperatives in Cuba

- Resolution of Cuban Communist Party
- Two speeches by Fidel Castro

### Revolutionary Perspective and Leninist Continuity in the United States

Resolution of the Socialist Workers Party

## —YSA CAMPAIGNS FOR SOCIALISM

BY THEO MISAILADES

NEW YORK — Mayor Edward Koch's administration — portraying the subway vigilante, Bernhard Goetz, as a hero — is spearheading the racist, anti-worker, antiyouth campaign of the ruling class here against "crime." It's a campaign to divide working people — young from old, Black and Latino from white — and to attack the democratic rights of all working people.

The New York City chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance held a panel discussion on February 9 to address this reactionary campaign. Theresa Delgadillo, chairperson of the chapter, explained the working-class view of capitalist "law and order" to the 40 youths attending the forum.

She began by reviewing the facts. Bernhard Goetz, a white businessman, shot four Black youths, one of whom asked him for \$5. He hit two of them in the back as they were fleeing, paralyzing one for life. He stopped shooting only because he ran out of ammunition. Goetz is an avowed racist, according to his neighbors.

Delgadillo explained that the response of the media and capitalist politicians — Democrats and Republicans alike — has been to



Militant/Tony Savino  
Theresa Delgadillo

rally in defense of Goetz. They have presented him as a hero in the fight against so-called crime. There is agreement in the ruling class, noted Delgadillo, that "we" need to strengthen "our" system of justice, establish more "law and order," hire more cops, and put courtrooms in the subway stations in order to more quickly throw people into jail.

"We working people have nothing in common with the ruling class," Delgadillo said. "More cops will mean more shootings of Blacks and Latinos — 265 of

whom have been killed by New York cops between 1974 and 1982. The role of the police is not to protect us, but to repress us — to maintain our economic exploitation."

To that end, cops are used "to break strikes, attack picket lines, infiltrate and disrupt organizations of working people, assassinate political opponents of the government, and to terrorize and deport workers from other countries who are here without documents," explained Delgadillo. She pointed to the use of state troopers to help break the Arizona copper miners strike and government disruption of the Black nationalist and civil rights movements as examples of how the cops are used.

"Your view of who is a criminal depends on what class you belong to — the working class or the capitalist class," explained Delgadillo. "When they talk about 'crime,' do you think they mean the crime of allowing landlords to charge outrageous rents for the tiny spaces they call apartments in this city? Or the crime of burning people out of their apartments to enable landlords to collect insurance? The crime of murdering 27 people in a Utah coal mine in the company's drive for more profits?

"The bosses never talk about their economic system, which is the legal crime of robbing us of the wealth we produce. Nor about the biggest crime right now — the U.S. war in Central America and continuing occupation of Grenada. These are crimes to you and me, but not to the ruling rich of this country..

"So-called street crime — assaults and violence against workers — is only a small portion of crime," Delgadillo explained. "It is not the major problem facing workers. It is a symptom of the real disease — capitalism."

Crime by working people against each other is a product of the breakdown of human solidarity bred by the private-profit system. This system pits individual against individual in the constant battle to survive. "The campaign in the capitalist media that Black and other working-class youth are criminals is a divisive attack on the working class as a whole, and hides the real criminals in this society: the cops and the ruling class they serve," she said.

It is only through working class solidarity and politicization that we will begin to combat the violence inherent in capitalism, said Delgadillo. She pointed to the ex-

ample of the Cuban revolution in showing the solution to the problem. Cuba has eliminated the prostitution, gambling, drug trafficking, and corruption that ran rampant on the island under U.S. domination. The Cuban revolution uprooted imperialist rule and the real crime associated with it.

Delgadillo ended with an appeal to the young people in the audience to join the YSA in our fight for such a government here in the United States.

The discussion that followed the presentation showed that there are a lot of young people who aren't buying the capitalist media portrayal of Goetz as a hero, or Koch's proposals for more cops. This sentiment has been given little or no direction by leaders of the Black and Latino communities or the unions and no coverage in the big-business media. This YSA forum was an important contribution to answering the racist ruling-class campaign.

To find out more about the YSA write to Young Socialist Alliance, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Subscriptions to the *Young Socialist*, the YSA's bimonthly newspaper, are \$3 for one year.

## Sandinistas issue major statement on economy

Continued from Page 5

instead to the government, the producers, and honest merchants — that is, those who play a necessary social role by distributing goods to the population, who are not simply parasitic intermediaries or "resellers."

The official córdoba exchange rate — which was 10 to 28 córdobas to the U.S. dollar — will rise to 28 to 50 córdobas to the U.S. dollar. Prices of goods involved in the government-controlled import-export trade will rise. In addition, hidden subsidies implicit in the previous rules governing exchange rates have been eliminated.

"Together with the measures to regulate demand, measures that increase the supply of food and basic goods by stimulating production are necessary," the National Direc-

torate's message explained. These measures include higher prices to agricultural producers and factory owners; a more favorable credit policy; and ensuring that foreign currency allocated to buy spare parts, machinery, agricultural inputs, and industrial raw materials is in fact available. In addition a system of bonuses paid to workers who meet or surpass production quotas will be implemented.

### Periodic wage readjustments

"For workers there will be periodic readjustments of their wages so that they can buy those products at the new prices, and a guaranteed supply of such products at official prices through secure channels."

The purpose of this is not only to protect

working families against inflation, but also to stimulate the return to productive labor of workers who have become small merchants because this is more lucrative.

The FSLN message emphasized that top priority for getting wage increases and scarce goods will go to productive, manual workers — those in factories and fields who create the wealth of society. Already an initial wage increase has been put through under this policy, compensating nonagricultural workers for inflation during 1984. The increase at the bottom of the scale — for wage levels of manual workers — is nearly 50 percent, but at the top of the scale, managers and administrators are only receiving 13 percent increases.

"In this year 1985, to confront the crisis,

we should support the tasks of production in the countryside and city. This means hard currency, budgets, salaries, services, food, and basic goods for the productive toilers of the city and the countryside," the statement emphasized.

"On this we are clear and we do not make false promises nor feed expectations," the National Directorate continued. "When readjustment of wages are posed, this does not mean that a worker will be able to buy more goods than he presently gets, but rather that his salary is being protected against the inflationary process that affects our economy."

The FSLN leaders explain that neither this nor any other set of economic measures can conjure away Nicaragua's economic crisis. "These measures point toward confronting the crisis that has been imposed on us, but they will not yet be able to overcome it.

"We will succeed in overcoming the crisis in the medium- and long-term to the degree that we defeat imperialist military aggression and we increase the country's total production."

## Resolution assesses U.S. politics today

Continued from Page 9

repressive caste, the proletariat remains the ruling class in the Soviet Union."

But the party's founding convention left open the possibility that sections of the bureaucratic caste in the Soviet Union could carry out a counterrevolution and become a new ruling class. Emboldened by wealth and privilege amassed from years of parasitism on the back of the workers state, the party thought it was possible the bureaucracy could overthrow the nationalized property relations and restore capitalist exploitation. History has shown that this danger is ruled out.

"In the face of the permanently aggressive stance of world imperialism," the resolution points out, "these bureaucratic castes must defend the workers' states." At the same time, however, in order to protect their privileges at the expense of the workers and farmers, they do so with anti-nationalist methods that pose a continual threat to the revolution.

The continued existence of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union, and in the other workers states established since World War II, are a weighty factor on the side of all those fighting imperialist domination and capitalist exploitation:

The resolution concludes by returning to the deepening U.S. war in Central America and the Caribbean and the importance of opposition to it.

"Opposition to the war offensive abroad," it says, "and the parallel offensive against the working people at home is already beginning to create new openings for building the party by recruiting working people who are attracted to revolutions and

revolutionary perspectives. These openings will increase as resistance to the rulers' offensive continues on both fronts."

Over time, this conflict will lead to "a political crisis that can shake this country to its foundations." Future battles will create profound changes in the framework of the class struggle, including a "breakdown in bourgeois democracy, as wings of the ruling class and its state apparatus begin to seek dictatorial solutions to the crisis of its political rule and social system.

## Bishop blocks N.Y. abortion clinic

BY PAT MAYBERRY

ALBANY, N.Y. — Abortion rights advocates suffered a setback here February 1 when a state Supreme Court justice temporarily blocked the opening of abortion clinics by Planned Parenthood in Albany and Hudson, New York.

Justice Harold Hughes ruled in favor of Albany Roman Catholic Bishop Howard Hubbard and two other opponents of abortion rights who filed a suit claiming that the New York State Health Department had failed to demonstrate there was a need for the clinics.

If allowed to open, Planned Parenthood would provide abortions for \$195, compared to the current \$700-\$1,000 now charged by hospitals. There is a need for facilities that perform abortions at a lower price. The nearest Planned Parenthood facility that performs abortions is now 20 miles from Albany. Planned Parenthood estimates they would perform 300 abortions in Albany and 200 in Hudson each year if they could open these clinics.

"It is under these conditions that the gap between today's conditions and experiences of the workers and farmers, and the conditions and experiences of revolutionary struggle will be bridged."

Along with the SWP's political resolution, this issue of *New International* contains two articles on the workers and farmers alliance in the United States as well as material from Cuba, based on their experiences in successfully applying the worker-farmer alliance as a strategic perspective.

Commenting on the ruling, Alfred Moran, executive director of Planned Parenthood of New York City, said, "The judge has played directly into the hands of the Bishop of Albany. The Bishop's object is to limit access and obstruct access to abortions. Judges on the state level as well as the federal level have an obligation to intervene to see that those obstacles are not put between women and their constitutional right."

The ruling is a victory for Bishop Hubbard, who has said that he is totally opposed to abortion and that he will do "everything legally possible" to stop it.

Justice Hughes ruled that the Catholic Diocese itself, as a corporation, could not participate in the suit. So two women filed the suit who are with the Diocese.

This is the first case of its kind to be tried in court. It can set a dangerous precedent, opening the way for opponents of abortion rights to use the courts and legal technicalities to restrict access to abortions, especially for poorer women.



Militant/José G. Pérez  
Nicaraguan president Daniel Ortega

# Texas rightists mobilize against gay rights

BY ROGER LOWERY

HOUSTON — Democratic rights for gays and all working people suffered a setback here January 19 when a referendum on an ordinance prohibiting discrimination against gays in city hiring was voted down by a 4 to 1 ratio.

The ordinance, which had been approved by the Houston City Council in June 1983, prohibited discrimination in city hiring based on sexual orientation (defined as private lawful sexual conduct). The ordinance also changed the civil-service code to allow grievances against discrimination based on sexual orientation, and clarified that only valid job-related criteria could be used in hiring.

## Antigay propaganda campaign

From the time it was passed by city council it has been the target of vicious antigay propaganda from right-wingers, the Chamber of Commerce, and a group of fundamentalist ministers. The Ku Klux Klan demonstrated at the June City Council meeting with signs saying, "Death to queers," confident that they could win support with a campaign of lies against gay rights.

Right-wing opponents of gay rights gathered 28,000 signatures last July to force a public referendum on the ordinance. Between July and the January referendum, they ran a lavishly financed effort to whip up antigay sentiment throughout the city. This campaign sought to use antigay prejudice to serve their broader reactionary offensive against affirmative action and other gains won through years of struggle by Blacks, Chicanos, and women.

The foes of gay rights took out full-page ads in local papers alleging that the ordinance would protect child molesters and necrophiliacs. They sought to use the fear of AIDS, acquired immune deficiency syndrome, to justify discrimination against the gay victims of this deadly disease. In addition the reactionaries appealed to backward sexist and racist attitudes by falsely claiming that the ordinance would extend city affirmative-action requirements — which they claim are unfair to white males — to gays.

One particularly vicious aspect of the



Ku Klux Klan antigay march in Houston last June. Klan was joined by Chamber of Commerce in campaign against gay rights referendum.

antigay effort was to seek to drive a wedge between gays and other victims of discrimination.

Reflecting the support among a layer of the Black community for gay rights, the ordinance was introduced by Anthony Hall, a Black city councilman, and supported by every Black elected official in the city. But a group of Black ministers joined the hysterical chorus being whipped up by the Klan and the Chamber of Commerce.

Rev. C. Anderson Davis, a Black minister, called the ordinance "the deadly homosexual amendments," and said that homosexuality "just doesn't register with God." Rev. Floyd Williams said, "I am not ready to make more minorities till my people get a fair share of promotions. The minority they are creating is practically all white."

The main organization formed to speak out in favor of the gay rights ordinance was the Citizens for a United Houston (CUH), a

coalition of gay-rights groups, local church activists, Gay Political Caucus, the National Organization for Women's Gay Liberation Task Force, and others. The CUH explained that the issue was protection from discrimination and for the right of gay people to city employment.

## Low profile

The CUH made a conscious decision to keep a low profile in contrast to the aggressive, high-profile campaign waged by the ordinance's opponents. The CUH's major focus was on a phone bank to turn out people to vote who supported gay rights. They made almost no public appearances and tried to keep the debate off of the question of gay rights.

Gay rights leaders used the same tactic last June 9 when the Ku Klux Klan held an antigay demonstration in the center of an area where a lot of gay people go. They urged supporters of gay rights to be "conspicuous by your absence." Despite the

lack of effort to organize any protest, more than 2,000 people showed up and angrily shouted responses to the Klan's death threats.

The Houston Police Department spent more than \$80,000 to intimidate opponents of the Klan demonstration. They mobilized 600 cops in riot gear and SWAT teams on top of buildings to "defend" the Klan.

## Socialists urge 'yes' vote

The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance issued a statement in support of gay rights in the weeks leading up to the referendum.

In discussions on the job, Houston socialists found that opinions among workers were sharply polarized over the referendum. While a big majority were influenced by the reactionary prejudices spread by the capitalist media, Chamber of Commerce, and the Klan, a smaller number of workers sized up the referendum for what it really was: part of a broader attack on oppressed nationalities, women, and all democratic rights.

One Black worker at the giant Shell chemical plant here explained that the anti-AIDS hysteria was similar to what racists used to say about what would happen to whites if they drank from the same water fountains as Blacks. He said he was much more worried about the miseducation his children were receiving about Black history from the "straight" school system than about them being molested by gay teachers.

The socialists also held a public forum the night before the election to discuss the issue of how to defend gay rights and to urge a yes vote on the referendum. A representative of the Young Socialist Alliance and Diane Berg, head of NOW's National Task Force on Gay Liberation, spoke. Berg is also a leader of the CUH.

## Cops, bosses bankroll antigay campaign

Berg made the point that the major media gave extensive front-page coverage to outrageous lies by antigay bigots throughout the summer, while CUH had trouble getting any coverage at all. She also pointed out that the opponents of gay rights, backed by the Chamber of Commerce, raised more than \$200,000, including big contributions from the Houston Police Patrolmen's Union, bankers, and the chamber itself.

The YSA representative pointed out that this attack on gay rights is part of a broader attack on all working people. She said that the defeat of the ordinance will open the door not only to further harassment and victimization of gays but also of Blacks, women, Latinos, and unionists as well. The YSA thinks that to defend democratic rights, unions, Black organizations, and women's rights organizations need to pull together to educate all working people about the need to defend democratic rights for gay people.

This defeat for gay rights will embolden the enemies of working people and all movements for social justice.

# Man kills three in anger over girls' reading Bible at mass

Enraged because girls had been allowed to read out loud from the Scriptures at a special children's mass, a man opened fire with a 12-gauge shotgun, killing a priest, church janitor, and another man at St. Patrick's Church in Onalaska, Wisconsin, on February 7.

Police arrested Bryan Stanley for the killings.

Before the mass, the man was seen in the church arguing with the priest, Rev. John Rossiter. The man had entered the church, lit a candle, then demanded of the priest, "By what authority do you let girls read the Scripture?"

"Well, the pope even said that it's allowed for girls to read," Rossiter replied, referring to the relatively recent rule changes in the Catholic church that allow females limited participation in church rituals.

The man then left the church, but returned after the children had left, and opened fire at the three men.

# Court extradites Chicano activist



Kiko Martinez

BY SARA LOBMAN

DENVER — At a February 1 hearing the government continued its persecution of Chicano activist Francisco "Kiko" Martinez. In a decision which completely ignored all defense arguments, a Denver U.S. magistrate ordered Martinez to appear in Tucson federal court by February 19.

The hearing followed the January 23 arrest of Martinez on charges of giving a false name to federal officers four years earlier. The indictment had been handed down by an Arizona grand jury. The February 1 ruling enables the government to try Martinez in an Arizona court. The government has been trying for years to move its harassment of Martinez out of Colorado, where his defense committee is based.

These charges are only the latest in a decade-long government campaign to silence Martinez. Only weeks before the current indictment, in November 1984, Martinez was cleared of the last of three frame-up charges of mailing letter bombs to opponents of the Chicano movement.

It was in response to a hysterical campaign that was whipped up around these charges, and increased violence against Chicano activists nationwide, that Martinez was forced in 1973 to flee to Mexico under an assumed name.

In 1980 he re-entered the United States at Nogales, Arizona, under the name he had been using for seven years. He was identified and returned to Colorado to face the bomb charges. Until last month the state of Arizona had expressed no interest in pursuing charges.

William Kunstler, vice-president of the Center for Constitutional Rights, explained in a statement issued at a February 8 press conference here, "This vindictive prosecution is obviously in retaliation for the failure of the state of Colorado and the U.S. government to convict this activist attorney of a variety of serious criminal charges, including the alleged mailing of explosive devices."

Kunstler announced plans to present the case to the Board of Directors of the Center and expressed confidence that they would authorize participation.

Martinez told the press conference, "The new indictment points out with crystal clear clarity that the government is trying to silence those who speak out against its domestic and foreign policies."

Letters of support for Martinez and financial contributions can be sent to the Francisco E. Martinez Defense Committee, P.O. Box 753, Alamosa, Colo. 81101.

# NBIPP leader speaks in Milwaukee

BY MARGO STORSTEEN

MILWAUKEE — Kathryn Flewelling, a leader of the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP), spoke at a meeting here February 5. The meeting was sponsored by the Black Student Union at the University of Wisconsin's Milwaukee campus as part of its Black history month activities.

Flewelling said that the United States needs radical surgery, and the challenge for students is to build a political force in the '80s to do this. She pointed to the revolutions in Nicaragua, Iran, and Mozambique, saying U.S. capitalists can no longer exploit those people.

Here in this country, explained Flewelling, U.S. corporations are on a drive against workers and their unions. She said the Reagan administration's breaking of the 1981 Professional Air Traffic Control-

lers Organization strike was an example of this.

A central part of Flewelling's talk took up Jesse Jackson and the 1984 presidential elections. In her view, the response to Jackson's campaign for the Democratic Party's presidential nomination proved that party is prepared to move to the right. She said the Democratic Party was set to "dump" Blacks in favor of getting more white votes. "The campaign proved that the Democratic Party is not our salvation," said Flewelling.

She said that Jackson "was the only one to stand up against Reagan," and that his campaign represented the interests of Latinos, women, and poor farmers in addition to Blacks. Flewelling said that the correct perspective today is to organize Jackson's "Rainbow Coalition" independent of the Democratic Party.

# CALENDAR

## CALIFORNIA

### San Diego

**Behind Ruling Class' "Anticrime" Campaign — the Socialist View.** Speaker: Tom Baton, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 23, 7:30 p.m. 1053 15th St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (619) 234-4630.

### San Francisco

**Eyewitness Report on the Disaster at the Wilberg Mine in Utah.** Speaker: Cecelia Moriarity, member United Mine Workers Local 2176 at the Wilberg mine. Translation to Spanish. Fri., March 1, 7:30 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 282-6255.

### San Jose

**Eyewitness Report on the Disaster at the Wilberg Mine, Utah.** Speaker: Cecelia Moriarity, member United Mine Workers Local 2176 at the Wilberg mine. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 2, 7:30 p.m. 46 1/2 Race St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (408) 998-4007.

## FLORIDA

### Tallahassee

**Vietnam Revisited.** A slideshow and presentation by Diane Wang, member Socialist Workers Party National Committee, visited Vietnam and Kampuchea spring 1984. Mon., Feb. 25, 8 p.m. Florida State University Student Union. Ausp: Tallahassee Young Socialist Alliance and FSU Women's Center. For more information call (904) 644-6577.

## ILLINOIS

### Chicago

**South Africa: The Struggle Against Apartheid Today.** A panel discussion. Sat., Feb. 23, 7:30 p.m. 3455 S Michigan Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (312) 326-5853.

## MASSACHUSETTS

### Boston

**Nicaragua: A Black Perspective.** Eyewitness report. Speakers: Paul Goodnight and Vivien Morris, just returned from Nicaragua. Also, Boston City Councilor Charles Yancey. Fri., March 1, 6 p.m. African-American Institute, Northeastern University, 40 Leon St.

**Current Stage in the Mideast — Will Israeli Withdrawal from Lebanon Bring Peace?** A panel discussion. Sun., March 3, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th floor. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

## MICHIGAN

### Detroit

**Celebration of International Women's Day.** Film: *With Babies and Banners*. Discussion to follow. Sun., March 3, 7 p.m. 7146 W McNichols. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 862-7755.

**Maurice.** Detroit premiere of Cuban documentary on Grenada revolution and life of Maurice Bishop. Sun., March 10, 7 p.m. 7146 W McNichols. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 862-7755.

## NEW YORK

### Albany

**Celebrate International Women's Day.** A panel discussion. Translation to Spanish. Fri., March 8, 8 p.m. 352 Central Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (518) 434-3247.

# 20th anniversary of Malcolm X's assassination

## GEORGIA

### Atlanta

**Malcolm X Speaks.** A film and discussion. Sun., Feb. 24, 7 p.m. 504 Flat Shoals Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 577-4065.

## KENTUCKY

### Louisville

**Malcolm X: His Meaning for Today.** A panel discussion. Sat., Feb. 23, 7:30 p.m. 809 Broadway (near Shelby). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

## MASSACHUSETTS

### Boston

**An Evening in Tribute to Malcolm X.** Sun., Feb. 24, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

## MINNESOTA

### St. Paul

**Toward Independent Black Political Action — Malcolm X's Contribution.** Speakers: August Nimtz, Socialist Workers Party; Janice Payne-Dorlae, National Black Independent Political Party. Sun., Feb. 24, 4 p.m. 508 N Snelling. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

## MISSOURI

### St. Louis

**Malcolm X: The Man and His Ideas.** Speaker: Ed Warren, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Feb. 24, 7 p.m. 3109 S Grand, #22. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 772-4410.

## NEW YORK

### Manhattan

**Malcolm X: El-Hajj Malik el-Shabazz.** Mohammed Oliver, National Committee member of the Socialist Workers Party, will

lead a discussion on the relevance of Malcolm X's ideas for today. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Feb. 22, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

## Commemoration of the 20th Anniversary of the Assassination of Malcolm X and Observance of the Day of the African Martyr.

Speakers: Elombe Brath, Patrice Lumumba Coalition; Omali Yeshitela, African People's Socialist Party; Serge Mukendi, FLNC-MNC Lumumba; Mae Mallory; Tapson Mawere; representative National Black Independent Political Party, Queens chapter. Fri., Feb. 22, 7 p.m. Adam Clayton Powell State Office Bldg., 163 W 125th St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: African Awareness.

## NORTH CAROLINA

### Greensboro

**The Revolutionary Legacy of Malcolm X.** Showing of film *El-Hajj Malik el-Shabazz* and discussion. Sat., Feb. 23, 7:30 p.m. 301 S Elm, Suite 522. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

## OHIO

### Cincinnati

**A Tribute to Malcolm X.** Speakers: James Meridith, civil rights activist and professor at University of Cincinnati; Denise Crews, TransAfrica; Michael Washington, history professor, Northern Kentucky University; Kibwe Diarra, Socialist Workers Party. Charles Graves, National Black Independent Political Party, will moderate panel. Sun., Feb. 24, 7:30 p.m. 4945 Paddock Rd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 242-7161.

### Cleveland

**The Legacy of Malcolm X.** Showing of film, *Malcolm X, the Struggle for Freedom*, an interview with Malcolm X. Speaker: Samuel Farley, Socialist Workers Party, member United Steelworkers Local 1229. Sat., Feb.

### Manhattan

**Commemoration of the 51st Anniversary of Sandino's Death.** Featuring Latin American music, traditional food. Sat., Feb. 23, 7 p.m. P.S. 41, W 11th St. near 6th Ave. Donation: \$5. Ausp: Casa Nicaragua. For more information call (212) 696-4792.

## OHIO

### Cincinnati

**The U.S. Political Situation Today.** Speaker: John Studer, member of National Committee, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., March 2, 7:30 p.m. 4945 Paddock Rd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 242-7161.

### Cleveland

**Maurice.** Cuban film on Maurice Bishop and the Grenada revolution, 1979-83. Sat., March 9, 7:30 p.m. 15105 St. Clair Ave. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 451-6150.

## PENNSYLVANIA

### Pittsburgh

**Farm Crisis: An Internationalist View.** Speaker: Chris Drake, member of Socialist Workers Party recently returned from Nicaragua

guan coffee brigade. Sat., March 3, 7:30 p.m. 141 S Highland Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

## TEXAS

### Dallas

**South Africa: the Struggle Against Apartheid Today.** A panel discussion. Speakers: Marvin Krenshaw, Citizens Against Apartheid; others. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 23, 7 p.m. 132 N Beckley. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (214) 943-5195.

## UTAH

### Price

**Maurice Bishop Speaks.** Videotape of the slain Grenadian prime minister. Sat., Feb. 23, 7 p.m. 23 S Carbon Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (801) 637-6294.

## WEST VIRGINIA

### Morgantown

**The Union Carbide Disaster — Profits Before Safety.** Speakers: Warne Ferguson, Concerned Citizens Committee of Institute; Dave Ferguson, Socialist Workers Party, member

23, 7:30 p.m. 15105 St. Clair Ave. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (216) 451-6150.

## Toledo

**Malcolm X, the Struggle for Freedom.** A film and discussion. Wed., Feb. 27, 7 p.m. 2120 Dorr St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (419) 536-0383.

## OREGON

### Portland

**Malcolm X: El-Hajj Malik el-Shabazz.** Speaker: Leroy Watson, member Socialist Workers Party and International Association of Machinists District Lodge 751. Sat., March 2, 7:30 p.m. 2732 NE Union. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (503) 287-7416.

## PENNSYLVANIA

### Pittsburgh

**Tribute to Malcolm X.** Speaker: Al Duncan, Socialist Workers Party, member United Mine Workers Local 2350. Sat., Feb. 23, 7:30 p.m. 141 S Highland. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

## VIRGINIA

### Newport News

**Celebration of Black History Month.** Showing of film, *Malcolm X, the Struggle for Freedom*. Sat., Feb. 23, 7 p.m. 5412 Jefferson Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (804) 380-0133.

## WASHINGTON

### Seattle

**Malcolm X: El-Hajj Malik el-Shabazz.** Film with presentation by Leroy Watson, member Socialist Workers Party and International Association of Machinists District Lodge 751. Sat., Feb. 23, 7:30 p.m. 5517 Rainier Ave. S. Donation: \$2. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

## United Mine Workers Local 2095.

Sat., Feb. 23, 7 p.m. 221 Pleasant St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

## BAY AREA

**Bay Area Premiere of film Maurice.** A Cuban film about the Grenada revolution and life of Maurice Bishop, slain prime minister.

### Oakland

Sat., March 16, 7:30 p.m. 3808 E 14th St. Donation: \$3. For more information call (415) 261-3014.

### San Francisco

Fri., March 15, 7 and 9 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$3. For more information call (415) 282-6255.

### San Jose

Sun., March 17, 6 p.m. 46 1/2 Race St. Donation: \$3. For more information call (408) 998-4007.

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**ALABAMA: Birmingham:** SWP, YSA, 205 18th St. S. Zip: 35233. Tel: (205) 323-3079.

**ARIZONA: Phoenix:** SWP, YSA, 3750 West McDowell Road #3. Zip: 85009. Tel: (602) 272-4026.

**CALIFORNIA: Los Angeles:** SWP, YSA, 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460. **Oakland:** SWP, YSA, 3808 E 14th St. Zip: 94601. Tel: (415) 261-3014. **San Diego:** SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (619) 234-4630. **San Francisco:** SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 282-6255.

**San Jose:** SWP, YSA, 46½ Race St. Zip: 95126. Tel: (408) 998-4007. **Seaside:** SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 1645. Zip: 93955. Tel: (408) 394-1855.

**COLORADO: Denver:** SWP, YSA, 25 W 3rd Ave. Zip: 80223. Tel: (303) 698-2550.

**FLORIDA: Miami:** SWP, YSA, 663 Martin Luther King Blvd. (NW 62nd St.) Zip: 33150. Tel: (305) 756-1020. **Tallahassee:** YSA, P.O. Box 20715. Zip: 32316. Tel: (904) 222-1018.

**GEORGIA: Atlanta:** SWP, YSA, 504 Flat

Shoals Ave. SE. Zip: 30316. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

**ILLINOIS: Chicago:** SWP, YSA, 3455 S Michigan Ave. Zip: 60616. Tel: (312) 326-5853 or 326-5453.

**INDIANA: Indianapolis:** SWP, YSA, 4850 N. College. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 283-61

# —THE GREAT SOCIETY—

**How to get to heaven —**  
WASHINGTON, Feb. 12 (AP) —  
The Reagan administration today  
approved a proposal by a private

presented a creative response to  
the President's initiative to en-  
courage the commercial use of  
space."



**Harry  
Ring**

concern to send cremated human  
remains into space. Jennifer L.  
Dorn, of the Transportation De-  
partment's Office of Commercial  
Space Transportation, said the  
company, Space Services, "has

**The march of civilization —**  
The motion died in committee two  
years in a row, but this time, the  
Mississippi legislature is expected  
to repeal a state law which excuses  
a killing "when committed by ac-  
cident or misfortune in lawfully  
correcting" a servant or child.

**Sounds reasonable —** "What  
can a homeless hungry person do  
for a corporation? He doesn't  
work for the company, he doesn't  
buy its products, and his good will  
won't do the corporation much  
good. That's the reason why most

corporate money doesn't go to  
poor people." — An analyst ex-  
plaining corporate foot-dragging on  
Reagan's suggestion that donations  
by big biz could offset fed-  
eral slashes in social services.

## With a little shock therapy?

— Westinghouse would like its  
workers to wear special headgear  
it's designing to monitor brain  
waves. The idea, apparently, is to  
improve efficiency by reducing  
daydreaming and, who knows,  
maybe bad thoughts.

**Who said there's no free  
lunch? —** Quality is the theme at  
the Nissan truck assembly plant in  
Smyrna, Tenn. Decked out in a  
silver cape and sporting a red

mask, Q-Man zips around the  
plant in his Q-mobile, with a  
loudspeaker rendering the com-  
pany theme song, "We Are Dri-  
ven." Q-Man checks production  
quality. Workers who know his  
"Quality thought for the day," are  
awarded a free lunch.

**Getting candid? —** A reader  
queried us about the income tax  
section requiring that you list "em-  
bezzled or other illegal income." Our  
response was that maybe it simply  
meant employers' profits.

## How reasonable can you get?

— General Dynamics announced  
in St. Louis it was withdrawing a  
bill for \$491,840 charged to the  
government for 76 corporate jet

flights by its chairman to his Georgia farm.

**All's well at Uniroyal —** In its  
report to stockholders, Uniroyal,  
the rubber and chemical folk, re-  
cords with satisfaction, "record  
1984 earnings." It adds, with fur-  
ther satisfaction, that as a defendant  
in the Vietnam veterans' Agent Orange suit, its share of the  
\$180 million settlement will not prove "a major expense" since it assertedly produced only  
"small quantities" of the deadly poison.

**With a straight face, yet —** "I  
have some rules. No. 1 is always  
tell the truth." — presidential  
press secretary Larry Speakes.

# FMC 'drug bust' move: attack on union rights

**BY KEVIN KELLOGG**

I work at FMC Corp.'s Ordnance Division in San Jose, California. FMC is the largest manufacturer of the many kinds of armored attack vehicles that Washington uses in its wars against working people in Central America and elsewhere.

For the past eight months FMC has joined with local and federal cops in conducting a massive campaign of harassment and intimidation in this plant. Since Veterans

## UNION TALK

Day 1984, several workers here have been arrested for alleged drug use. All have been immediately suspended; most have since been fired or forced to quit.

These arrests marked the climax of a 10-month investigation in which cops posing as workers spied on workers and set them up for arrest.

The drug bust is an attack on all workers at FMC and a direct blow to our union, Local 562 of the International Association of Machinists (IAM). With this spy operation the company has succeeded in intimidating a large number of workers.

The use of cop and company spies to weaken a union is not a new tactic of the bosses. The history of the U.S. labor movement is riddled with spying, disruption, witch-hunting, and other dirty tricks. These low-life tactics are increased when the companies and the government are on a stepped-up offensive against the workers.

FMC put out a letter attempting to justify their campaign. They claimed they launched the "investigation" because workers were complaining about drug use. They go on to say that since what they are "concerned about is workers' health and safety on the job" they decided to "cooperate" with the cops in their investigation.

But FMC's record on health and safety proves that this is a lie. The FMC bosses aren't concerned about our

health or safety. There are numerous safety violations daily at the Ordnance plant. Workers are discouraged from reporting them. And our union has had to call in the National Institute of Occupational Safety and Health to launch an investigation into the high rate of cancer and other occupational diseases that more and more of our members are suffering.

Safety is not the issue behind the company's campaign. Drugs are not the issue either. This spy operation, carried out under the guise of concern about drug use, is designed to pave the way for even bigger attacks on workers at FMC and in other plants across the country.

Employers want to use this precedent to go ahead with further spying and disruption — against workers they suspect of being "undocumented," antiwar, feminist, socialist, or union militants. They want to use their spies more freely in our unions to keep closer tabs on what we are doing about grievances, bargaining, or other union business.

It is no accident that FMC is one of the companies in the forefront of these attacks. FMC is an important part of the war industry, run directly by both civilian and government bosses. Our work force has a history of union consciousness and solidarity. Many workers here have friends and families in Central America. As Washington escalates its wars in Central America it needs more than ever to break down our solidarity. By weakening our trust in each other, they hope to go a long way to break any solidarity with workers in Nicaragua and El Salvador.

So far the company has won all rounds in this campaign. Not only are workers intimidated by the threat of being victimized by undercover cops, some are also falling into the trap of accusing each other of being cops.

Recently hired workers have been especially singled out for these accusations. FMC has already divided off these workers through the major concession they won in our last contract. With this wage system, new hires now

make 35 percent less than those hired before last May. Showing their expertise at "divide and rule," the company is now attempting to make these new workers particularly suspect. Rumors are being spread that this or that worker is a cop.

This tactic is reminiscent of the "snitch-jacket" — falsely labeling someone a cop in order to discredit them — that the FBI put on people to disrupt the antiwar, Black rights, and women's rights movements of the 1960s and 1970s. The government utilized this tactic, which had been used against the labor movement for decades, to smear civil rights leaders as well as individual activists.

The extent to which this smear was useful in disrupting movements has been revealed in many FBI files published since. This agent-baiting helps create an atmosphere of fear and disunity that weakens our unions.

We should question the source of these rumors, demanding that any "evidence" of police activity be brought to our union, where we can investigate it to determine if there's any truth to it. And we shouldn't tolerate any spying or disruption in our unions. All company records on spying should be turned over to the union. No cops should be allowed in the plants or union halls.

I think perhaps that one of the most powerful blows to the company's attempt to divide us would be a massive participation of workers from plants like FMC in the march and rally for peace, jobs, and justice being held April 20 in San Francisco. This protest is one of the activities being organized around the country to coincide with the April 20 March on Washington to protest the U.S. government's war in Central America.

Many local unionists have already endorsed this Northern California action. This gives us a great chance to make our message loud and clear, not just to the company but also to Washington. We can answer the company's attack by uniting together to show our solidarity with working people under attack in Nicaragua and El Salvador.

# Marion prisoner recounts 1983 attack by guards

**In the following article, the author, incarcerated at the U.S. prison in Marion, Illinois, tells of the brutal conditions that are still in effect at Marion, well over a year since prison officials unleashed the repression described here.**

**A lawsuit on behalf of the prisoners seeking to restrain guards from continuing their abuse has been filed by Attorneys Nancy Horgan, Donna Kolb, and James Roberts. For information, or to contribute to the cost of the litigation, write to: Marion Prisoners Special Litigation Fund, P.O. Box 678, Carbondale, Illinois, 62903.**

**BY RONALD DEL RAINÉ**

MARION, Ill. — About the time Ronald Reagan invaded Grenada, another less publicized invasion oc-

tured here in the Federal maximum security prison at Marion. It was Nov. 7, 1983. About two dozen riot squad cops raided our tier. They were clad in jumpsuits and boots, crash helmets stenciled with "A Team," visors, three-inch leather belts with various gear suspended from hooks, padded gloves, and at least one wore a bullet-proof vest. All of them clutched three-foot-long, metal-tipped clubs.

Everyone was strip-searched in his cell, cuffed behind his back, pulled out backwards arms locked on both sides, and dragged to the hallway.

Some had their heads thumped en route, some got it sitting on the floor propped up alongside the wall. One Cuban was beaten up for "writing propaganda on the wall" — even though he can't write English. Most cells have something written on the walls.

One prisoner voiced an objection about another who was being beaten, so they broke several of his bones. One prisoner a few cells from mine was beaten on the testicles for several long minutes as they interrogated him about a hack-row blade. As the guards filed out of his cell, one kindly disposed correctional counselor remarked, "May God have mercy on your soul." I counted about 32 out of 65 prisoners who were beaten.

When we returned we found our cells stripped of everything: mattresses, blankets, toilet paper, medicines, address books, stamps, etc. Most of these items were thrown away. This was labeled "searching for contraband."

One of the prisoners reached through the bars for his sack lunch and a guard hit his hand with a club. They beat him all the way to segregation, as they did to many.

In one cell block, the faucets and toilets were shut off, the windows were opened, and the prisoners were hosed down twice and held incommunicado for a week and a half. Other cell blocks just had their toilets turned off, with no toilet paper issued for a few days.

After the mad dogs left, we stood around in our shorts and shivered as the November breeze came through the open windows. A short time later, they returned and chose three of us for rectal probes, followed by several X-rays while adjusting the handcuffs behind our backs to different positions. However, we had nothing on us, nor in us.

I'm now in population, which is similar to segregation in most prisons. We get one hour a day on the tier for shower and exercise. We get no cell lockers, chairs, tables, shelves, medicine cabinets, mirrors, towel hooks, or coat hangers.

After a few months, they gave us a three-inch plastic spoon to use in our cell.

Since bed boards are verboten, and they won't repair the sagging bed springs, most lads sleep on the floor with the mice and dirt.

All weight-lifting equipment, televisions, and water fountains are gone. Law books were banned for a month or two.

Bulldozers have uprooted all benches, sun shades, a miniature golf course, a fish pond, and shrubs. Two small cages are being built in the yard, where we will enjoy our "yard-out" six at a time. Visits have been cut to four hours a month, while separated by a plastic shield and talk over a monitored phone.

You are escorted on all movements by a club-carrying squad while cuffed behind your back.

Every few days, we are taken out of our cells backwards, while cuffed behind our backs, and our cells are ransacked. And just for good measure, if this weren't enough, the warden decreed that no Christmas packages could be received.

There is one minor benefit from all this. One captive, who heretofore vociferously defended his government, is now ready to resist his masters.

curred here in the Federal maximum security prison at Marion.

It seems that the Bureau of Prisons allowed a prisoner in their long-term control unit — after serving many mind-numbing, monotonous years — to slip out of his handcuffs. In a struggle with a guard, the guard was killed. Later that day, the same thing happened with another prisoner. Three more guards were stabbed, and one of them was also killed.

The warden then hit the panic button and called in riot squads from other federal prisons. When the warden's executive assistant laid violent hands on a prisoner, who reciprocated, the riot squads were unleashed on the prisoners.

In segregation, we thought the 82nd airborne had mis-

# Malcolm X's revolutionary legacy

Malcolm X — one of this country's greatest revolutionaries — was assassinated February 21, 1965.

Born May 19, 1925, as Malcolm Little, Malcolm X was an uncompromising fighter for Black civil rights and self-determination. But Malcolm X was more than a leader of the oppressed Black nationality. He was a leader for all working people.

Malcolm X sought to organize a revolutionary movement to fight for Black liberation by any means necessary. He was gunned down before he was able to set up an effective nationwide movement, but in the process of trying to build it, Malcolm X developed a program that continues to hold valuable lessons.

The most important thing about Malcolm X's program is its revolutionary framework. He explained that it's the bloodsucking capitalist system that is responsible for the oppression of Blacks. In the last year of his life, Malcolm X began to speak more about socialism. At a Dec. 20, 1964, rally in New York City's Audubon Ballroom, he explained, "Almost every one of the [African] countries that has gotten independence has devised some kind of socialistic system, and this is no accident. This is another reason why I say that you and I here in America — who are looking for a job, who are looking for better housing, looking for a better education — before you start trying to be incorporated, or integrated, or disintegrated into this capitalistic system, should look over there and find out what are the people who have gotten their freedom adopting to provide themselves with better housing and better

education and better food and better clothing."

Malcolm X continued to indict racism. He continued to explain that Black pride is an indispensable ingredient in the makeup of a Black freedom fighter.

But most importantly, Malcolm X began to see the fight for Black liberation in class terms. In a Feb. 18, 1965, speech — just three days before his assassination — Malcolm X said, "We are living in an era of revolution, and the revolt of the American Negro is part of the rebellion against the oppression and colonialism which has characterized this era. . . .

"It is incorrect to classify the revolt of the Negro as simply a racial conflict of Black against white, or as a purely American problem. Rather, we are today seeing a global rebellion of the oppressed against the oppressor, the exploited against the exploiter."

It is this revolutionary perspective that led Malcolm X to indict both the Democrats and Republicans and to call on Blacks to break from both capitalist parties. It is this revolutionary perspective that led him to be a staunch internationalist.

And it's this revolutionary perspective that makes the ideas of Malcolm X essential study not only for Blacks, but for all working people. No greater tribute to this revolutionary leader can be made than to study his speeches and writings and rededicate ourselves to fighting along with Blacks and all other working people to sweep away capitalism and build a society free of racial discrimination and all other forms of oppression and exploitation.

# Malcolm X: a revolutionary internationalist

The following is excerpted from a Jan. 24, 1965, speech Malcolm X delivered to a New York City rally of the Organization of Afro-American Unity. That speech is the centerpiece of the pamphlet, *Malcolm X on Afro-American History*, which can be ordered from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. The cost is \$2.45, plus \$.75 for postage and handling.

One of the main things that you will find when you compare people who come out here on Sunday nights with other people is that those who come here have interests that go beyond local interests or even national interests. I think you will find most who come out here are interested in things local, and interested in things national, but are also interested in things international. Most Afro-Americans who go to other meetings are usually interested in things local — Harlem, that's it; or Mississippi, that's it — national.

But seldom do you find them taking a keen interest in things going on world-wide, because they don't know what part they play in things going on world-wide. But

## OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

those of us who come here, come here because we not only see the importance of having an understanding of things local and things national, but we see today the importance of having an understanding of things international, and where our people, the Afro-Americans in this country, fit into that scheme of things, where things international are concerned. We come out because our scope is broad, our scope is international rather than national, and our interests are international, rather than national. Our interests are world-wide, rather than limited just to things American, or things New York, or things Mississippi. And this is very important. You can get into a conversation with a person, and in five minutes tell whether or not that person's scope is broad or whether that person's scope is narrow; whether that person is interested in things going on in his block where he lives or interested in things going on all over the world.

Now persons who are narrow-minded, because their knowledge is limited, think that they're affected only by things happening in their block. But when you find a person who has a knowledge of things of the world today, he realizes that what happens in South Vietnam can affect him if he's living on St. Nicholas Avenue, or what's happening in the Congo affected his situation on 8th Avenue or 7th Avenue or Lenox Avenue. The person who realizes the effect that things all over the world have right on his block, on his salary, on his reception or lack of reception into society, immediately becomes interested in things international.

So, one of our greatest desires here at Organization of Afro-American Unity meetings is to try and broaden the scope and even the reading habits of most of our people, who need their scope broadened and their reading habits also broadened today.

. . . when you find those of us who have been following the nationalistic thinking that prevails in Harlem, we don't think of ourselves as a minority, because we don't think of ourselves just within the context of the American stage or the American scene, in which we would be a minority. We think of things worldly, or as the world is; we think of our part in the world, and we look upon ourselves not as a dark minority on the white American stage, but rather we look upon ourselves as a part of the dark majority who now prevail on the world stage. And when you think like this automatically, when you realize you are part of the majority, you approach your problem as if odds are on your side rather than odds are against you. You approach demanding rather than using the beginning approach. And this is one of the things that is frightening the white man. As long as the black man in America thinks of himself as a minority, as an underdog, he can't shout but so loud; or if he does shout, he shouts loudly only to the degree that the power structure encourages him to. He never gets irresponsible. He never goes beyond what the power structure thinks is the right voice to shout in.

But when you begin to connect yourself on the world stage with the whole of dark mankind, and you see that you're the majority and this majority is waking up and rising up and becoming strong, then when you deal with this man, you don't deal with him like he's your boss or he's better than you or stronger than you. You put him right where he belongs. When you realize that he's a minority, that his time is running out, you approach him like that, you approach him like one who used to be strong but is now getting weak, who used to be in a position to retaliate against you but now is not in that position anymore.

# U.S. secret nuke deployment plan

A sense of the brutal arrogance with which Washington treats even its imperialist allies was offered with the revelation that the Pentagon has secret contingency plans for deploying nuclear weapons in at least eight countries.

The secret plan was disclosed in the February 13 *New York Times*.

Under the plan, in the event of an unspecified "emergency," antisubmarine nuclear depth charges would be deployed in Canada, Iceland, Spain, the Philippines, Puerto Rico, Bermuda, the Portuguese Azores, and the British-ruled island, Diego Garcia.

Government officials of these countries insisted they knew nothing of these dangerous plans.

Even if some of these officials are not being totally candid, they have good reason for the disclaimers. Today, popular antinuclear sentiment is on the rise in virtually all parts of the globe. The current disclosure is bound to intensify public opposition in those countries gratuitously selected to host the nuclear stockpiles.

In Puerto Rico, for example, the revelation is evoking a particularly sharp response in light of the fact that Washington has signed an agreement that nuclear weapons would be kept out of Latin America. (See story on Puerto Rican response, page 3.)

In the member nations of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, there have been giant demonstrations against U.S. nuclear stockpiling.

Washington was dealt another jolt with the recent declaration by the Labor Party government of New Zealand that it would bar U.S. nuclear-armed warships from its ports.

# S. Africa jails Black leaders

**Continued from front page**

UDF leaders who face similar charges. The 14 make up the bulk of the top UDF leadership.

In recent weeks the apartheid regime has tried to posture as willing to negotiate with anti-apartheid organizations and even to release Nelson Mandela, the most respected leader of the African National Congress.

But as Patrick Lekota, a UDF spokesperson, said following the February 19 raids, "This wave of repression gives the lie to State President Pieter Botha's pretensions of a search for consultation with extraparliamentary opposition groups."

Mandela himself had earlier exposed the hypocritical offers of the South African regime through a message he sent to a Soweto rally of 9,000. Rejecting the regime's offer of release from prison if he would renounce the struggle against apartheid, Mandela said, "I cannot and will not give any undertaking at a time when I, and you the people, are not free. Your freedom and mine cannot be separated."

The denial of civil and human rights to Blacks is being shown in the apartheid regime's bloody repression of the rebellion in the Crossroads squatters camp near Cape Town. Some 100,000 Blacks live in homemade shanties in this camp in order to be close to where they work. Thousands of these Blacks revolted as news began to leak

out that the South African government plans to forcibly move Crossroads residents to a government-built Black township several miles away.

South African cops attacked demonstrators, killing at least 13 and wounding hundreds. Blacks threw up barricades of burning tires to try to defend themselves from the government violence.

The increased anti-apartheid struggles by South African Blacks have sparked worldwide solidarity. Here in the United States, thousands have participated in picket lines at South African embassies and consulates.

These protests should continue. Anti-apartheid activists have an important opportunity to mobilize U.S. working people against Washington's support to the South African regime this April 20. Thousands of protesters will be demonstrating against the U.S. war in Central America where, as in South Africa, the U.S. rulers back brutal dictatorships.

The April 20 march also includes the demand to end U.S. support to apartheid. Actions are set for Washington, D.C., San Francisco, Los Angeles, and other cities. All those who are involved in the fight against apartheid and U.S. complicity with it should mobilize for the April 20 demonstrations and do what we can to bring other working people with us.

# Olympic Gold: no shield for Black boxing champ

Mark Breland is a fighter, one of the best boxers around. He's a five-time champion in the New York City Golden Gloves competition. He won the 1984 Olympic gold medal in the welterweight division, and on January 5 Breland scored his second victory in a professional bout.

But Breland is Black. And being a young Black in the United States makes you a target of racist violence —



## BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY

Mohammed Oliver

even if you wear a U.S. Olympic team emblem on your jacket.

On January 6 Breland went to visit his manager, who lives in a posh East Side apartment building. Breland followed two white men and a white woman onto the elevator. One of the men then pulled a gun on Breland.

"If I had sneezed, he would have shot me," said Breland. "It was simply because I'm young and Black." Breland noted that the confrontation occurred in the midst of

the racist hysteria being whipped up in the media in support of Bernhard Goetz, the racist vigilante who shot four Black youth on a New York City subway last December.

"I didn't know whether to leave or not," explained Breland, "but I thought if I left, the guy would shoot me in the back. I was scared to move."

But move he did. Slowly, carefully, Breland pressed the button for the 11th floor, where his manager, Shelly Finkel, lives. The elevator lurched, and the pistol-wielding racist said, "I guess when you press 11, the elevator gets nervous."

When he heard Breland's story, Finkel immediately called the cops. Three cops showed up. Entering Finkel's apartment, the racist cops assumed that Breland was the man they were looking for.

"A lady officer came up and she had her gun out, her finger on the trigger," said Breland, "and she was looking dead at me, as if I had done something wrong."

Before the cops had arrived, Finkel did a little investigating of his own. He checked with the doorman and found out that one of the men who confronted Breland lived on the 33rd floor. Finkel phoned the man, who told him that the gun-toter was a detective and had a permit to carry the weapon.

The cops also questioned the same tenant. The cops told Breland that the tenant denied that his friend had a gun. Meanwhile, the armed man and the woman had left the building.

Breland was furious at the cops. "They acted like nothing had happened," he said. "They told us we might as well drop it. I bet if I was a white kid, it would've been different."

Breland's right. It would've been different. But racist violence isn't only condoned by the government and cops — they carry it out. Between 1974 and 1982, New York City cops blew away 265 Blacks and Latinos.

Racist vigilantes, such as Goetz and the bigot who pulled a pistol on Breland, think the problem working people face is working-class youth, especially Blacks and Latinos. This racist notion is inculcated by the big-business media and capitalist politicians from the White House on down.

Liberals feel uneasy about vigilantism. They agree that Blacks, Latinos, and other working people are a problem, but they say that the cops should "take care" of them. Too many Goetz's running around, warn these liberals, could draw some return fire from the Black and Latino communities. The liberals call, instead, for more cops.

But more cops means more racist terror. Breland had a gun drawn on him twice: once by the racist on the elevator, and again by the racist cops. Breland's run-in with these armed racists shows who are the real criminals — the killer cops and vigilantes like Goetz. They are a danger to Blacks and other working people. They should be locked up.

# How COINTELPRO disrupted Black movement

*The Black People's Party*, by Earl Anthony, Theater of Universal Images, Newark, New Jersey.

BY MARY ROCHE

Aug. 25, 1967

PERSONAL ATTENTION TO ALL OFFICES  
SAC, Albany  
Director, FBI  
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
INTERNAL SECURITY

The purpose of this new counterintelligence endeavor is to expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit, or otherwise neutralize the activities of black nationalist, hate-type organizations and groupings, their leadership, spokesmen, membership, and supporters, and to counter their propensity for violence and civil disorder . . .

The vast government conspiracy to physically and politically destroy the Black rights movement in the

## IN REVIEW

United States is the backdrop for a play now being presented by the Theater of Universal Images in Newark as part of Black History Month activities.

*The Black People's Party*, written by Earl Anthony, former minister of information of the Black Panther

Party, centers on FBI efforts to "destroy and neutralize" the Black People's Party in Buffalo in the 1960s. The FBI's use of murder, agents provocateurs, informers, eavesdropping, and burglaries, and their effects on the members of the Black People's Party, comes to life in this play.

The play does not mention the Black Panther Party, which was the target of a federally directed campaign in the late 1960s, but the similarities are chillingly clear.

Sleazy FBI agents, following receipt of a COINTELPRO memo to "neutralize" Black nationalist organizations, threaten an ex-Vietnam vet, Chochezi, with trumped-up charges of "inciting to riot" and "conspiracy to overthrow the U.S. government," unless he becomes an informer within the Black People's Party. Under pressure, he agrees to go along with them, but angrily tells them, "No Vietcong ever called me nigger."

The FBI enlists Chochezi in efforts to create dissension in the party; urges him to help in "purging" the party of cultural nationalists, informers, and renegades; and threatens him with murder if he does not go along with them.

In one scene, Chochezi's companion, Paulette, urges other members to stop the purge inside the party. "Soon there'll be no one around if killing continues inside the party. . . . It's a mistake to terrorize brothers and sisters unless we're sure," she says.

When a party member is killed and the FBI makes it look like another Black nationalist party was behind it, Chochezi tells the FBI: "You're trying to set everyone up. . . . I want out."

Another scene shows the killing of a suspected agent inside the Black People's Party. Paulette begs others to stop the killing, saying the suspect hasn't been proven guilty. Another character, Sister Tee, responds, "Don't judge us. History will judge us."

After this killing, the FBI brutally attacks the apartment of Black People's Party members and jails them. The FBI agents tell Chochezi that he must testify against the other members or face murder charges himself. When he hesitates in going along with them, they "neutralize" him with a drugged drink.

The final scene shows the FBI agents burning the FBI memo.

This well-acted and directed play clearly shows the lengths to which the government will go to destroy the Black rights movement — including murder. Between the beginning of 1968 and the end of 1969, for example, no fewer than 30 members of the Black Panther Party were murdered by police.

Malcolm X is quoted several times in the play. Immediately following the FBI agent's reading of the COINTELPRO memo at the beginning of the first scene, a Black People's Party member recites this quote from Malcolm X: "The white man knows what a revolution is. He knows that the black revolution is worldwide in scope and in nature. The black revolution is sweeping Asia, is sweeping Africa, is rearing its head in Latin America. The Cuban Revolution — that's a revolution. They overturned the system. Revolution is in Asia, revolution is in Africa, and the white man is screaming because he sees revolution in Latin America."

## LETTERS

### Pornographers 'scum'?

I had some questions about your February 1 issue. First, I am unclear from M. Oliver's article why the Pope is a foe of the anti-apartheid fight. Do you oppose the Pope condemning apartheid? Does the fact that the Pope is anti-communist mean he supports apartheid?

Second, Pat Grogan attacks pornography as "particularly vicious," and says it "directly exploits, degrades, and brutalizes women," and so on. Is this your position on magazines like *Playboy* and *Penthouse*? What do you call pornography?

Third, I think you overuse the word "scum" in your paper. It seems in every issue some group of people are scum. And you seem to use it in lieu of analysis, such as when you call pornographers "scum." Does that include Hugh Hefner?

Stansfield Smith  
Chicago, Illinois

unfortunate souls who control the wealth, exert force, and corrupt the environment.

My only hope lies in the fact that there are so many "actual poor" in Latin America living and dying to help relieve the wretchedly wealthy of the awesome responsibilities that come from having great wealth, power, and control.

Your article also noted the pope's continuing concern for the people of Nicaragua. Reading this reminded me of a newscast the day after Somoza's bunker was liberated. I recall vividly the larger than life portrait of Pope John Paul II that was hanging in Somoza's bedroom.

Jack Bresée  
Richmond, Virginia

### Injustice

I would like to receive your paper. I am an inmate at Attica doing four to eight years. I couldn't read or write too well before coming to prison. I'm now preparing for a high school diploma.

I've learned a lot about injustice in the system. I am in prison for trying to make money in the big city. I was on the unemployment line my whole life. I want to

change the government. I'd make a good fighter.

A prisoner  
Attica, New York

### Student rights

I would like to thank the *Militant* editorial staff for printing the article on student rights. I am a student and I am disgusted at the Supreme Court's decision to give schools the right to search students. This is just another attack on the rights of the working class, dealt to us by the ruling class.

Joseph T. Schafer  
Altoona, Iowa

### Nuns get support

Five hundred people gathered here January 27 to express support for five Chicago nuns threatened with expulsion from their orders for challenging the Vatican's opposition to abortion.

The prayer vigil, called by Concerned Catholics, filled a North Side church to capacity.

Outside the church, five male antiabortion picketers shouted their antiwoman message.

The five Chicago nuns are among 24 who signed an advertisement in the October 7th *New York Times* urging the Vatican to open a discussion on its abortion



stand. The Vatican responded by threatening to expel every signer who refuses to publicly recant her position.

Speaking at a well-attended press conference, Concerned Catholics spokeswoman, Sister Maureen Gallagher, likened the signers' predicament to that of Ernesto Cardenal, who was expelled from the priesthood for his refusal to leave his post in the Sandinista government in Nicaragua.

The five Chicago signers have all been nuns for more than 20 years. Two of the women have

worked for many years with homeless women. They can't recant, Sister Gallagher explained, because they have taken a position of conscience.

Shelley Davis  
Chicago, Illinois

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

### Pope's trip

The article on the pope's visit to Latin America was perfect.

The quote you included about his "concern" for "so many rich men who are terribly poor in spirit" moved me to pity for these

# Eastern cuts workers' wages

## 'We're not owners of the company, we're victims'

BY LOUIS LONG

MIAMI — The big-business media has been playing up union contract negotiations at Eastern Airlines since the beginning of the year.

The three unions involved are the International Association of Machinists, Transport Workers Union, and Air Line Pilots Association. The way the capitalist commentators tell the story is that after years of "stormy" labor relations, the company and unions hammered out a path-breaking contract at the end of 1983 that gave the unions an "unprecedented" role in running the company.

Union officials were given seats on the board of directors. The workers got 25 percent of new, watered-down company stock. Tens of millions of dollars were saved in productivity improvements proposed by workers. Conflicts between union and management decreased. The number of grievances declined drastically. Disagreements were often settled in worker-management "employee involvement committees," bypassing the unions. This was all paid for by the workers taking an 18 percent pay cut.

### Eastern tears up contract

Then, on December 31, 1984, the year of "labor peace" was shattered when the company tore up a signed contract and refused to restore the 18 percent paycut. And there was no pretense of distributing more company stock in exchange for the pay cut, as was done in 1983. The unilateral company action infuriated Eastern workers, few of whom thought the year of "peaceful coexistence" was as great as union officials had portrayed it. Most of the employee involvement committees broke up immediately. The company action came as a blow to union officials who are on the board of directors. Machinists union District 100 president Charles Bryan claimed he didn't know the company would tear up the contract.

With anger mounting among the workers, the International Association of Machinists (IAM) took the company to court, and broke off negotiations on the new contract until the pay cut was restored. Then the company sent in its labor consultant, former U.S. Secretary of Labor William Usery. He presented a full contract proposal, including pay and benefit cuts and speed-up, but called for the 18 percent paycut to be restored to the workers for the month of January only as a sign of "good faith." Usery's proposal was accepted as a basis to reopen negotiations.

### Threats by bankers

Union and company negotiators then faced each other over all-night bargaining sessions. Bankers threatened to foreclose \$2.5 billion in loans if contracts they liked were not agreed to by deadlines they set. The deadlines passed and newspaper headlines announced Eastern was in "technical default." Finally Usery stepped in again with a new deadline. He chastized everybody — union, management, and bankers — for not putting the interests of the company first. Negotiations continued and some kind of new agreement was reached. With it the company predicts that in 1985 it will make the first profit in five years.

What is going on from the point of view of the 20,000 union members at Eastern? As of February 18, the situation was that they are working without a contract. The last contract expired on December 31. Their paychecks since February 1 are again reduced by 18 percent.

Eastern workers have been inundated by company propaganda praising the victory the company achieved in negotiations.

But union members at Eastern have no word from their unions about the terms of the next contract. No one knows what was or is being negotiated.

The new contract will have to be voted on by the members eventually. And despite all the media hype, it is not a given that members will approve the contract. The rumors about the terms of the contract that was negotiated do not sit well with Eastern workers the *Militant* has spoken with. Particularly among the Machinist union members — the cleaners, baggage and freight handlers, and mechanics — there's strong opposition to some of the terms in Usery's proposed contract.

Few see justification for cuts in health benefits and losing two paid holidays a year. If the IAM negotiators agreed to those terms, they will have a harder time selling the contract.

There are reports that local union officials in Eastern's big bases in Atlanta and New York have been meeting with District 100 president Bryan, telling him that those kind of givebacks won't fly on this airline, at least not among their members. There is anger that the unions did not inform the members about what is going on.

One ramp worker here pointed to a flier the union distributed at work on February 5, headlined "It's your airline." The leaflet, signed by Bryan, says nothing about the contract negotiations. It does say "We, the owners who work for Eastern Airlines ... must pledge to all the other stock holders to provide maximum productivity, revenues, and profits."

The ramp worker said, "Everybody I know feels less like an owner and more like a victim of the company."

An aircraft cleaner who has worked there more than 30 years said the lack of information is the worst he's ever seen. He feared the union is losing respect, especially from younger workers, whose only view of union leadership is of a group competing with management over who is most loyal to the company.



Unionized workers at Eastern have been working since January without a contract. During negotiations, company unilaterally reimposed 18 percent wage cut.

and other benefits.

An urgent task for workers at Eastern and Pan Am is to begin solidarity activities now while they're involved in similar struggles. Solidarity between the workers would be a big step away from the perspective pushed by union officials of trying to make "our" airline the best.

## Unions call N.Y. anti-apartheid meeting

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

NEW YORK — A significant meeting of working people will occur here early next month. On March 1-2 a labor conference against apartheid in South Africa will be hosted by the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) District Council 37 at 125 Barclay Street in Manhattan.

The conference will feature central lead-

ers of the Black labor movement of South Africa in their first appearance in the United States. They include: Phiroshaw Camay, general secretary of the Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA); Emma Mashinini, general secretary of the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union of South Africa; and the president of the National Union of Textile Workers who is also a leader of the Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU).

CUSA and FOSATU are two of the largest Black union federations in South Africa, encompassing approximately 200,000 workers.

This conference is being sponsored by a growing list of trade union officials. They include: Victor Gotbaum, executive director of AFSCME District Council 37; Bill Lucy, president of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; Henry Nicholas, president of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees; Cleveland Robinson, secretary-treasurer of District 65, United Auto Workers (UAW); Jack Sheinkman, secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU); and Marc Stepp, vice-president of the UAW.

The conference is being organized by the New York Area Labor Committee Against Apartheid. One of the coordinators of this group, Sandy Boyer, spoke about the importance of this conference as part of a panel on the anti-apartheid fight at the New York City Militant Labor Forum on February 8.

"The future of the African continent depends on the South African revolution," explained Boyer, "and the South African revolution depends on the Black labor

movement.... Everytime someone is detained in South Africa; everytime a strike is broken; there must be an outcry in the United States. This can make a difference."

Also speaking on the panel was Solly Simelane from the African National Congress of South Africa, and Pat Hayes, a member of the UAW union and the Socialist Workers Party.

Simelane spoke about the significance of the recent strikes led by the Black trade unions of South Africa, which have spearheaded massive protests by all the oppressed against the apartheid regime.

"The economic gap between the two main classes in our country keeps getting wider. The capitalists are getting richer and the workers are getting poorer," explained Simelane. "The struggle of our people has gone beyond the confines of only fighting for better wages and better living conditions. Our struggle is a struggle for the seizure of political power."

Pat Hayes spoke about what role working people in the United States can play in helping to bring an end to the apartheid system. "I urge everyone to join the picket lines at the South African consulates. Attend the March 1-2 anti-apartheid conference, and participate in the mass march on Washington called for April 20 that will demand: end U.S. government intervention in Central America and halt support to the apartheid regime."

For more information on the upcoming conference contact the Labor Committee Against Apartheid, c/o Headwear Joint Board ACTWU, 49 W 37 St., New York, N.Y. 10018 or telephone (212) 840-0550 on Mondays.



Militant/Steven Fuchs